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WORLD WAR II

THE LEGACY



**Canada's Critical
Wartime Role**



36

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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE SEPTEMBER 4, 1987 VOL. 102 NO. 34

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MacMillan and *TSC*, both now on regular cable, celebrate five years of success.

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COVER

THE WAR AND ITS LEGACY

Fifty years after Hitler launched his war to impose a Nazi New Order on Europe, that continent is moving with astonishing speed away from the long shadow cast by the Second World War and the oppression of the Cold War. Many changes seem to be leading toward a more peaceful and more promising future. But the path to the new Europe is fraught with many dangers.

— 20

WORLD

THE MOULD SHATTERS

In a week of remarkable developments throughout the Soviet Bloc, the historic endorsement of reform Solidarity across Poland's first anti-Communist-led postwar government was the clearest signal that the old order in Eastern Europe is rapidly changing.

— 16



SPACE

A FINAL ENCOUNTER

Voyager 2, a U.S. spacecraft launched 12 years ago, had its final encounter last week with a planet in the same solar system as Earth. Photographs from Neptune were every bit as spectacular as Voyager 2's earlier shots of Jupiter, Saturn and Uranus. Images of Neptune's moon Triton captured them all.

— 58



COVER PHOTO BY STEPHEN D. DREYER

Canadian copyright and magazine number: 138



Time For A Challenge

Few years ago this week, Adolf Hitler's summit and crack panzer troops swept across Poland, took the Second World War in the Cold War and followed the Allied veterans into northern Italy, Canada and other NATO nations formed the NATO alliance, setting traps and weapons—including nuclear ones—in Europe to counter a possible invasion by the Soviet Union. It seemed a vital—even noble—purpose. But it is now an outdated, self-defeating assurance that would be utterly incapable of deterring a conventional Warsaw Pact invasion with its current manpower and weapons. Only by the NATO alliance's own admission would NATO have a realistic chance of turning back an attack. As well, NATO's role is staggering: The United States spends up to \$210 billion a year on NATO commitment, and it costs Canada roughly \$1.4 billion annually to fulfil its NATO obligations. With military technology now leading the way to preventing the West from harm, the time is ideal for the West to throw down



Alhacen leaders did win the support by proposing that both the Warsaw Pact and NATO eliminate all their offensive weapons, as a first step toward dismantling both organisations. As an essay in a recent issue of *The Atlantic* magazine pointed out, NATO could adopt new strategies to guarantee the safety of Western European borders. NATO could also be transformed into an institution of coordinating large-armed defence. NATO could deploy roughly 10,000 personnel in West Germany in groups of 20 or so, each armed with precision-guided missiles. In command of a formidable amount of mobile firepower, they would have the capacity to spread out across the front and behind it. As London British Chief Andrews, Italian, and the reported and inside the issue cover story, comments on "Had a creature after that, it would be a very different world. It would be a world where the world would be able to dispense with military aid. This is a very different world and a possibility."

Phillips is facing a challenge that would be difficult to resist.

Kein Wyl

Moclean's

Journal of Management Inquiry 18(4)

Further study is needed.

Alexander Heller, *Editor*

Executive Director, The Center for the Study of the Child

Assistant Managing Editors: Joseph P. Ferrell

2004-01-01

Art Computer Film Fund
 American University, Washington, D.C.

Source: *Journal of Management Education*, 2006, 30(1), 10-11. Copyright 2006 Sage Publications.

Executive Editors: William H. Schmidt, Ed. Director, and
Douglas H. Willard, Ed. Director, Educational Research

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *Marriage, Divorce, Remarriage in the 1990s*, Washington, D.C., 1995.

Researcher (Entrepreneur) Tom Arnold (Business)

Epistola (contemplativa) mense Iulio

Barack Obama, **Intel**, **Republican Party**, **Carroll**

Andi Lumbly, John Jackson, & Amy Smith, Budget Bureau
 Ministry of Finance, Market Street, Georgetown, Guyana

Journal of Interpersonal Violence 24(10) 1949-1964
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Source: *U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, P80-128A.*

Other Special Medical Services:

Shafiqul Kabir, Faruque Hossain

Assessment Evidence: Job Log, Field Report, Map Reports.

Source: Author's survey, 2004.

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LETTERS

ADVICE FOR VIA

Before Transport Minister Jean Charest starts dismantling Canada's railways ("Derailing Via" Cover, Aug. 21), he should consider improving the service by running the passenger train on time. Good on-time train routes would attract passengers beyond his wildest dreams. Then he could consider buying some high-speed, high-speed trains with his budget profits. It will take a supreme effort to overcome current lethargy, but just think of the effort the early railway builders made.

G. James Thompson,
Detroit, Ont.

Your article on high-speed trains ("Opening into the Future" Cover, Aug. 21) neglected the more positive aspects of successful railroading in West Germany, for instance, the national railroads carry a massive percentage of sales trucks. The trains are cheap and on time. The loading system is tied in with the national highway to allow one-stop loadings. Trucks are discounted for two or more travelling together, for families, for weekend trips. The point is that passengers can be enticed by imaginative marketing. It does not make sense to imply that we have only the choice of aircraft or automobiles. They each have their place, and so does the train. I hope we will not lose it.

A. Richard Lee,
Ottawa

A TRUE BELIEVER

"The Tenor" new sales tax could be a "windfall" (Column, Delta Press, Aug. 7). Tenor, Ray, Santa Claus, Remy, Remy, are not the reduction after subtraction of goods and services tax—I believe. I believe, Peter Schaffer,
Kenna, Ont.

NO PUNCH LINE, PLEASE

As you please tell me why, when writing about *When Harry Met Sally*, ("Sex and Friendship," Film, July 24), your reviewer insists on excluding the film's best jokes? In giving men further by giving the setting for the scene, you let the potential viewers know when to expect the line. Better still—discussing it in itself.

Monica Atwood,
Montreal

INEFFECTIVE SYMBOLISM

In "Symbolic flowers" (Wattle, July 31), Kathleen President David says she was shown buying 13 tons of confiscated ivory valued at



Charest's 'improving the service'

\$3.6 million. But increasing poaching pressure on disappearing elephant land will inevitably lead to culling of the same elephant resource. Kenya is claiming to protect. Before Canada supports an action like Mo's, perhaps we should look at reasons such as Zimbabwe, which markets ivory under government control and puts the revenue back into resource protection.

Paul Kinsinger,
Rang, Alta.

REJECTING STEREOTYPES

As I have a grudge for the ongoing about a "Ridiculous relief" (The stars, Aug. 14), I am shocked and disappointed to be told about stereotypes that the world will improve not only for women, but for men and children as well, if sexual stereotypes are rejected wholeheartedly. Articles of this nature are important, because they force us to see ourselves both as we are and as we should be.

Nicole Goldford,
Hemlock

FEARING FOR SURVIVAL

As a 16-year-old who seriously fears for her future, I was appalled and frightened when I read your article "Getting the best price" (Business, Aug. 14). How are we to survive free trade if we have no competitors of our own? My friends and I often wonder if there will be a Canada left for our generation.

Trudy Maggard,
Red Deer, Alta.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should address all correspondence to: *Maclean's*, 1000 Avenue of the Americas, Toronto, Ontario M5V 1A7. Please send SASE. Please send SASE. Please send SASE.

PASSAGES

BAMBI! Cincinnati Reds manager **Pete Rose**, 48, from major-league baseball for life for betting on baseball games, including his own team, to baseball commissioner **A. Bartlett Giamatti**. The ban is the result of a deal that ends Rose's 10-year deal with Cincinnati's ownership and after a year allows Rose—who identifies himself as the baseball gambling litigation—to seek to become the first person convicted from a lifetime suspension. Debarred for the 10th of Rose from the betting scandal, Rose is baseball's 10th man to be suspended for life. He broke into the major leagues with Cincinnati in 1960 and played for a National League record 24 seasons.



SLAM! **Henry Newton**, 47, UK character actor, American Mack leader and co-founder of 1960s white-ethnic Black Panther party, by an unknown founder who shot him three times on a street in his home town of Oakland, Calif. Newton's party was jailed several times for inappropriate public events and violating parole on a drug possession conviction.

DEED! Fashion designer **Gianni Versace**, 48, whose names and designs influenced women's wear for more than 40 years, of a heart attack in hospital near his New York City home. While fashion editor of *Harper's Bazaar* from 1979 to 1993 and editor-in-chief of *Rue* from 1993 to 1997, he helped launch the careers of many of the world's top designers, including **Oscar de la Renta**.

BOOM! **Thomas D.C. Supreme Court justice and newspaper businessman John Valentine Oryen**, 47, in his Vancouver home. The former *Maclean's* (Book) Ltd. chairman published his memoirs, *Jack of All Trades*, in 1995.

SENTENCE! **Spencer Ben Johnson**, 21, to 12 months' probation after pleading guilty to assault for pointing a star's pistol at a fellow inmate last October in a Scarborough, Ont., provincial court.

SLAM! British conservationist **George Adamson**, 83, who achieved worldwide fame for his dedication to wildlife protection after his re-wild, **Jay Adamson**—murdered in Kenya in 1980—wrote the 1960 book *Born Free* about how father work with lions, near his Kenya bush camp.

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Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine

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Director of Advertising Sales David A. Laker
Director of Research Glenn H. Halsey
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Letters are published by Maclean's under Letter

Column

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OPENING NOTES

George Bush puzzles the foreign press, Isadore Sharp checks in, and Bruce Springsteen issues a denial

A STAR SINGS ANOTHER TUNE

For Tipper Gore, it was a lesson in the politics of communication. In 1985, Gore—whose husband, Albert, was an early contender in last year's U.S. presidential primaries—helped to found The Parents Music Resource Centre, an Arlington, Va.-based organization that is dedicated to drawing public attention to supposedly obscene lyrics in rock music. In that end, the group produced *Killing in the Streets* in 1987, a 35-minute film that used footage from music videos to illustrate the sexual content of many current rock songs. Last year, officials at the centre edited the film's sound track, editing a statement



Springsteen: an adman's denial

that they attributed to rock superstar Bruce Springsteen. In that purported quote, the officials took from a July 1988 article in *Reader's Digest* magazine, Springsteen described the "corrupting" influence of so-called shock rock music and inspired teenagers to "turn out the garbage." But, when he learned about the video, Springsteen indignantly denied having made such a statement. *Playboy*, officials at Gore's group then asked *Digest* editors to question Peggy Meen, the writer of the article. She said that she had been given the quote by a researcher at the magazine—who in turn admitted to fabricating the statement. The result: *Reader's Digest* fired the researcher, and officials at Gore's group recently recalled the quote from the sound track—a reversal that was made to Springsteen's ears.

A new minister arrives in style

Dorland Peterson shuffled his suitcase on Aug. 2, and new-entrance Christiana Hart made a splashy debut that caught the Queen's personal attention. The 28-year-old minister of culture and communications did so at her first cabinet meeting after her appointment, a gathering that took place in a breakfast room at the 300-room Fairmont Hotel in Toronto. The new ministers had not yet received one of their perks of office—the use of a Chevrolet Caprice sedan and driver and scout of three cadged aides from Queen's Park with senior colleagues. But an official in Hart's ministry headed a chauffeur-driven Lincoln Continental limousine that took her to her new home in Ottawa. Peterson has acknowledged that a man-carrying limousine is a luxury not afforded to most ministers, but that it was designed as part to shut



Hart: a driver that caught the premier's eye

attention from the benefits that politicians can receive in office. As a result, Liberal officials say that Peterson was impressed by Hart's grand arrival in Ottawaland. Now, the rookie minister could face a bumpy ride getting back on the premier's good graces.

SNAPSHOTS OF A PROVINCE

To the chagrin of many New Brunswickers, the slogan "The Future Province" has resurfaced on about 10,000 of the province's license plates. These words constitute the Confederation of Regions party protest against the legislation that requires 50-cent stickers to mark the French version of the province's name. Indeed, spokesman Roger Fyfe noted that his party had ordered another 10,000 of the expensive license-plate motif—setting the party and the provincial government on a collision course over the legality of the stickers.



Fishes, Taylor (left), Sharp: delicious and 600 belly dancers and acrobats

ARABIAN FANTASY FOR A CANADIAN

For his 50th birthday, U.S. publisher Malcolm Forbes created a \$2.3-million fantasy at his Moroccan palace and invited 172 rich and famous guests, including, of course, Taylor and his wife (left). Taylor, founder of the Ritz Seasons hotel chain and the only Canadian guest in the list—to his party in Tangiers. Sharp and his wife, the Aug. 13 event at the Palm Jumeirah was "light" out of 1,500 Arabian Nights. Sharp dined in a spacious tent alongside

Forbes' frequent companion, movie star Elizabeth Taylor, during which both dancers and acrobats entertained the guests. But during his stay at the nearby Half Moon, the hotel developer noted that the air conditioning did not work and the plumbing was faulty. Still, Sharp stressed that he had been "overwhelmed" by the staff's hospitality. For one hotelier at least, a good trip is a key element of an Arabian Nights fantasy.



Soccer players, players, buses and a crowded room

Lessons in geography

The 18 teenagers were far from—over 10,000 km from home. But when they arrived in Canada on Aug. 10 to play in Winnipeg's annual Polaris International Soccer Tournament, the members of the St. Stephen's soccer team from New Brunswick discovered that they had another 2,000 km to travel. Team officials had purchased airplane tickets only to Toronto—on the belief that Winnipeg was a short distance away. Instead, the startled players received a quick lesson in Canadian geography: a 30-hour bus ride lay ahead. As a result, the only airport near had to create a \$5,000 loan from a friend in Toronto's Hungarian community before setting out for Winnipeg. There, the players faced further difficulties, including a severe shortage of hotel rooms at the city and rapidly shrinking cash supplies. To their rescue came the Vincent. Don Hotel, which donated a large room for the weekend stay. As well, the City of Winnipeg provided a city bus line of change, and drivers and several contributions, including a local supermarket, supplied food for the players' meals. The team's only setback: its 3-1 defeat in the final game of the tournament, at the hands of the Edmonton Strikers. There are limits to the kindness of strangers.

Scotch ads on the rocks

Its creators, New York City-based admen, say that it has been a huge hit in U.S. test markets. But an eye-catching advertisement for Johnnie Walker Scotch has had a rocky reception in Canada. The ad features a rear view of a carver's knife in a tight embrace and the invitation to dial a telephone number for "interesting serving suggestions." But Toronto city officials recently ordered the removal of that message from 33 bus shelters after consumers complained that the Scotch ad depicted women. Chances are that liquor made an explosive debut.

COUNTERATTACK FROM THE STARS

They are anxious for their unshowered—and frequently beleaguered—reporting about the risk and reward. But, in recent weeks, many London-based tabloid newspapers have been scanning for a rash of celebrity lawsuits. U.S. film star Clint Eastwood, for one, recently won an undisclosed settlement from the *News of the World*. And other stars, including actors Mickey Rourke and Mickey Rourke, are currently threatening legal action against several newspapers. Press baron Rupert Murdoch, the owner of the *Sun* and *Mirror* newspapers, is taking the celebrity counterattack seriously. Just months, he appointed ombudsmen to handle complaints about press coverage. Better to be safe than sorry.

INTERPRETING THE PRESIDENT

Many foreign correspondents in Washington are the phenomenon in the press: talk—George Bush's habit of engaging himself in colloquialisms and slang. While most North American are familiar with the sport (except that Bush frequently employs, many foreign reporters say that it is difficult to translate such casual mot-

phrases as "staring at the plate"—a phrase that Bush used recently to explain his plan to depose Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega. And they shudder when Bush quotes Yogi Berra, the famed catcher who coined such sayings as "You can't hit a ball until you've watched it." Said Argentine President Carlos Menem: "This Yogi Berra is the man." The Bush is not getting into the White House, and foreign reporters will have to adjust to him. As Berra also said, "It ain't over 'til it's over."



Berra, the apostle of Yogi Berra

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COLUMN



Tough times on Canada's farms

BY DIANE FRANCIS

The Canadian Food Industry Association held its annual meeting this summer in Winnipeg. Among the topics of discussion were Canada's declining agricultural prospects. At its recognition, one speaker described how the government's income from the Manitoba acreage's wheat and soybeans with a small feed operation. But he added that his plans for expansion have stalled because he cannot get credit. Business has halted on that farmstead in its own hands. He planned to move to \$400 an acre from \$800 in just three years. "They aren't interested because of falling land values," he said, "yet they're trying to convince me to give a mortgage to my yapper couple in Toronto who want to get across their heads and buy a \$500,000 house."

Most of Canada's 380,000 farmers keep doing, lullabyed by the triple whammy of low prices that are too low, high interest rates and low commodity prices. Canadian farmers get backlogs at the rate of one per day. For at least 20 years, 30 per cent of Canadian farmers have lost it, and many are struggling to keep their farms afloat. But at the past 20 years, the amount of time they spend at non-farming activities has increased by a dramatic 35 per cent. This trend is the inevitable result of in history's most profound socioeconomic change—the displacement of the agrarian way of life for an urbanized one. Most of our families experienced it. Many of our grandparents or parents left the farm and were employed by tractors, milking machines or cheap imported food.

Of course, not each and every farmer faces poverty. A few subsist on marginal lands among the hundreds of agribusinesses straddling the Winnipeg convention. But they didn't make their money working the land. They own farms within commuting distance of Toronto, or other cities, where condominiums are not, and they can't sell. One Milton farmer said that he had sold his 100-acre family homestead, located 40 km west of Toronto, for \$3.6 million to developers. He and his brothers will receive

Canada's farming community continues to shrink as international marketing pressures squeeze prices

Then there are those farmers who have prospered as a result of protectionist policies, including the creation of supply management boards, non-certain that control supply and artificially prop up prices for such commodities as chickens, turkeys, eggs and milk. Farmers in these exclusive clubs often feel that their protection quotas, which they can resist, are worth more than farmland.

Indeed, Canada's farmers are divided both by income levels and by ideologies. There are two camps, those in favor of protectionism, and those against it. Generally speaking, grain, hog and cattle farmers have supported liberalized trade, including the Free Trade Agreement with the United States, because of their vested interest in breaking down protectionist barriers that shut out or threaten their exports. By contrast, supply management farmers fiercely opposed the FTA because it threatens their existence.

Under free trade, tariffs will disappear, but supply management boards for eggs, turkeys and chickens will receive protection by having U.S. imports remain at approximately current levels. A provision that applies only to fruits and vegetables will allow tariffs to be applied at the border to keep set a sudden flood of cheap

produce or peaches or top other commodity. Although Canada's poultry and egg producers are protected, its milk producers face a serious test. When Canada tried to protect yogurt and ice cream processors by selling them in the Quebec Central East, the United States fought back by making a formal complaint under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Washington trade officials said that protecting milk supply boards was one thing, but dairy farmers could not also restrict ice cream or yogurt imports.

GATT stipulates the oversight over yogurt, milk supply management boards will survive. That is because Canadian milk prices are higher due to import restrictions, but if restrictions do not also apply to yogurt, cheese or ice cream, imports of these products would easily undercut their Canadian rivals. Canadian ice cream makers will lose sales or force Canadian farmers to drop prices. Milk producers will no longer be able to dictate prices and get them.

GATT is also key to Canada's grain farmers. Negotiations at that process are working to end the industry subsidies that have eroded a grain glut and low prices. In April, they were able to get the prime ministers, the European Community and the United States, to freeze subsidies of current levels. In 1986, subsidies paid out by the United States totaled \$1.1 billion in 1987 and 1988, under the Special Canadian Grain Program, on top of \$2-billion payments in both 1986 and 1987. Australia took another tack—its farmers are diversifying into sheep and wool.

Canada, as the Midwest farmer with his land supply abundant has learned, diversification is the only route to survival. Even agricultural organizations are doing that. Two years ago, the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool co-op bought a 35-per-cent stake in a chain of 120 shops, and in four provinces. As part of the deal, the chain will buy all of its flour from the pool.

Still others, including Delta, Ont., tobacco farmer Palmer Murphy, have switched rather than fight, or fold. She, and hundreds of others, are moving into non-farming policies. Now, her husband has acquired 500 acres with 125,000 cornucopia trout, and she is beginning to market her harvest directly to restaurants and individuals for stocking ponds. She has also been using the fish culture as a substrate fertilizer, and plans to apply for a license in a commercial grow operation. As part of the deal, she can't grow organic. She's made the switch now. We've gone from set to health foods.

A CAMPAIGN SETBACK

THE UPROAR OVER DISPOSAL OF PCBs CASTS A SHADOW ONTO PREMIER BOURASSA'S PLANS FOR RE-ELECTION

As a league war waged a slouch of camp lay away from the St-Basile, Que., waterfront on the morning of Aug. 24, night trucks became visible on the town's federal government roads. On their fluted trailers, 12 large white containers pecked with polychrome lettering (PCB waste). The night before, pairs of green-and-black containers from a Beaver Landing, turned away the previous week from Britain, while upstate of provincial police—none with full-out gear—had hundreds of angry protesters behind hermetically sealed. But what appeared at first to be a desire for the crown's fighting to keep the PCBs out of St-Basile's coast (to be at least a temporary victory even as the night's chaotic unloading operation proceeded), Quebec Superior Court judge was signing an injunction which ordered that the containers go no farther. The court went on to order a hearing, scheduled for this week, on whether to ban the unsorted wastes from the region permanently. Declared province Justice Huard, a home-maker who has lived in the area since 1962. "This battle is not over yet. We will not be the garbage can of Quebec."

Although experts insist that the risk of PCBs has been overestimated, Huard's determination reflected the concern across the country about the storage of chemical wastes. And last week's events renewed that the question has been to Quebec of 2,500 tons of PCBs left over from the 1960s chemical warheads from St-Basile-le-Grand, near Montreal, would cause a

cast a shadow over Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa's campaign for re-election on Sept. 28. In St-Basile, Superior Court Judge Paul Cormier, who acted last week's decision, criticized those responsible for allowing the overnight unloading of the wastes. And this week's planned court hearing threw into doubt Bourassa's plan to move the PCBs temporarily to an isolated Hydro-Quebec power plant outside Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's home town in Ottawa, federal Environment Minister Lucien Bouchard last week issued the court's order "a national embarrassment."

That Cormier became involved, however, Quebec's plan to move the first of 170 containers of St-Basile PCBs to the Marc 2 Hydro unit, 36 km outside St-Basile, had unfolded with almost military precision. As the first provincial truck pulled away from a parking lot at 5:30 p.m. on Aug. 23, tractor-trailer and police vehicles converged on a what was kilometers away. As darkness fell and fog rolled in off the St. Lawrence River, about 1,500 demonstrators headed toward the waterfront. There, the members belated, stopped by anti-tank, a

Bourassa's a little from the decision



Bourassa's protesters confront police: a temporary victory in the courts

row of green-faced police and fog so thick they could no longer see the jets where the black-bellied Noddy's Oodles was scheduled to arrive shortly before midnight.

By 10 p.m., cold and larger had sent many of the protesters home. But a core of about 300 charged energetically when an aggressive policeman told them that Cormier had signed in their favor. They began to march toward the site of the PCBs the next morning. At about the same time, a half-dozen visitors of Cormier's decision on Hydro-Quebec officials and to the director of Dyneson Environment Inc., the Quebec company with a \$7.9-million contract to oversee transportation and disposal of the St-Basile PCBs.

What neither the protesters nor the judge had apparently expected, however, was that Hydro-Quebec and Dyneson would still agree with the government's plan. When, shortly after 1 a.m., protest leaders informed Cormier that the Noddy's Oodles was being unloaded, he quickly issued a formal injunction ordering the work stopped and the containers returned to the freighter's deck. That same order reached Dyneson's executive Martin Chénier in St-Basile at 2:40 a.m. The ship's captain, Nicolas Klabouk, got the same message at 4:04 a.m. By then, however, the containers were already on the wharf. And by 4:30, the ship had left its moorings and departed.

A quickly became evident that Cormier, at least, was not prepared to let the matter end

with his intention having been disrupted. As Cormier wrote in his early-morning opinion, "One must think that, despite the legal advice brought to their attention, (Hydro-Quebec and Dyneson) decided to proceed with the plan, took advantage of the dedication of the night to accomplish what the protesters waited to prevent." In the morning, Cormier abruptly refused requests from Hydro-Quebec and Dyneson to allow the wastes to be moved from the dock to River St., pending his final ruling. And the following day, the judge went further, citing 15 people involved in the unloading—excluding the St-Basile captain—for contempt of court. Cormier ordered the 15 to appear before his Sept. 28 to answer the charges, which carry penalties of \$5,000 or a year in jail.

For her part, Quebec Environment Minister Luc Bouchard, who was lashed by telephone throughout the unloading operation by her officials at the scene, insisted that she did not know until the night's events that the wastes had arrived before the ship departed from St-Basile. And her press secretary, Jocelyne Richer, said that Bouchard had not instructed officials to proceed with the unloading in defiance of the earlier court order. Said Richer: "The order didn't come from us."

While the issue showed no signs of ending, some experts continued to insist that the risk posed by the PCBs stored at Quebec and elsewhere

across the country have been grossly exaggerated. The massive liquids were leaked in a suspected container in 1971. But, according to engineer Philip Jones, Canada's director of the National Environmental Service at the University of Toronto, he has, more recent research has shown that the compounds pose little risk when properly handled. "The public is widely misinformed," he said.

But the crowded PCBs seemed certain to continue to bedevil Bourassa's re-election campaign. This week, Cormier was to decide whether to order the PCBs moved entirely from St-Basile, a possibility that would force the government to drive up a new plan for their disposal. Meanwhile, protesters set up a tent and mounted a 24-hour guard near the entrance to the wharf in order to prevent any further clandestine movements of the cargo. By midweek, a second Soviet freighter tied up by British dockers because it was carrying Quebec PCBs for incineration in Britain was also docked at the St. Lawrence River. It was a situation that Bourassa's Parti Québécois rival, Jacques Parizeau, seized upon with evident relish, branding Bourassa's handling of it "incompetent." Whatever their danger to health, in politics, at least, PCBs are still a potentially hazardous compound.

MICHAEL ROSE is in St-Basile with JACQUELINE WATKINS in Montreal.

National Notes

NEW EVIDENCE

Canadian investigators using new computer technology recovered additional fragments of an Air India Boeing 747 that crashed on the coast of Ireland in 1974, killing all 309 people aboard. The evidence may help to determine conclusively whether a bomb caused the disaster.

SOUNDINGS ON ABORTION

A Gallup Canada, Inc. poll reported that 57 per cent of Canadians say that the issue involved should not be able to prevent a pregnant woman from having an abortion, while 22 per cent say that she should have that right.

A DATE WITH THE SENATE

After a Premier Donald Getty announced that an election to choose a successor for the province's vacant Senate seat will be held on Oct. 16, Two Conservatives—provincial party vice-president Brian Henderson and Senate reform activist Bert Macdonald—to run, and the Reform party has said it will field a candidate. Premier Minister Brian Mulroney has said that he will not be bound by the results of the election.

SUPPORTING THE PQ

Leslie LaPointe, president of the 400,000-member Quebec Federation of Labor, announced that his organization will support the Parti Québécois at the Sept. 25 provincial election. The federation's membership peaked in the 1960s election.

HARD PROOF

Steven Pauling, a staff member of the Canadian Truck and Field Association, said the Delta inquiry into the Baco Johnson accident showed that investigators often did not act when they found what they called clear evidence that top Canadian officials were taking shortcuts toward workers before the 1988 Olympics. Former CRTC president Bill Wadsworth later said the inquiry that he did not believe Pauling's complaints.

SETTING A LIMIT

A federal Liberal party executive decided that its leadership candidates may not spend up to \$1.7 million in their campaigns to meet John Turner after the race formally begins.

THOMAS DOWN

The CRTC rejected an application by the CBC to create a French-language all-news channel, ruling that the network's proposal violated "programming regulations" and failed to show that there was sufficient viewer demand for the service.

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CANADA



Bourassa (left), Peterson: "There are a lot of pressures on this country"

The nation's agenda

The premiers take aim at federal policies

As a prime minister who prides himself on his children as a mediator, Brian Mulroney may be wondering what has become of his carefully crafted strategy for what he calls "national reconciliation." After gaining power in 1984, Mulroney made ending Canada's endemic regional tensions a personal priority—a goal reflected in the warm mood that prevailed during Mulroney's early encounters with the provincial premiers. But that benign atmosphere has soured dramatically as the Mulroney government's second term. During a two-day conference last week in Quebec City, launched in mid-election campaign by Quebec's Robert Bourassa, the premiers launched a wide-ranging attack on federal policies, including the proposed nine-per-cent goods and services tax and cuts in spending. Several, including Ontario's David Peterson and Newfoundland's Clyde Wells, went further, accusing Mulroney of failing to consider growing regional divisions over such issues as minority language rights and regional development. Mulroney, "There are a lot of pressures on this country right now. We have to find the things we have in common, or else we will see a more fractured country."

But when Mulroney stood before a national convention of Conservatives at week's end to deliver what he said had killed as "a major address on the issues of the nation," he acknowledged few of the premiers' complaints. Mulroney pledged new initiatives to solve federal leadership in education—especially provincial responsibility—and the environment.

Said Mulroney: "Conservatives entered us to provide competent and leadership, not that in what we are doing."

Still, some of the Prime Minister's closest advisers have conceded privately in recent weeks that Mulroney's second mandate is far less the clear agenda that marked his first. Said one close friend: "The real dilemma that he can never top the historic achievement of free trade. But that is not as easy as it used to be. There are problems like drug abuse or efficiency, even if they are not politically easy." In fact, Mulroney's scope for maneuvering, told one prominent policy planner, the government is limited by his own goal of reducing the projected \$30-billion shortfall in the 1993-94 federal budget. He has approved spending cuts that leave little room to meet provincial demands for better transportation and regional development.

For their part, the premiers aired their strongest fire for Ontario's proposed sales tax. But they remained divided over how it should be modified. And New Brunswick's Frank McKenna, for one, acknowledged that their own disagreements badly weakened the premiers' criticism of Ottawa. "We cannot go on being cynical," he told Mulroney. "We cannot lead a tax revolt while demanding billions of dollars of new programs." Wherever their complaints about Mulroney's leadership, the premiers showed little sign that they had a clear direction of their own.

BURCK WALLACE in Quebec City

True confessions

Startling revelations from a former Tory MP

When Sean Kelly was in Grade 3, his mother, Deborah, received a telephone call at her Ottawa home from a concerned teacher. The young boy, the teacher said, had given a disturbing answer to a question. "He thinks Erik Nielsen, the politician, is his father," the teacher reported. After a pause, Deborah Kelly responded: "It is not his imagination. Erik Nielsen is his father." In fact, Deborah Kelly, now 65 and an administrator in the Ottawa office of the Yukon government, was Nielsen's lover for 13 years while working as the former Progressive Conservative MP's secretary from 1963 to 1979. The public revelation of their affair was just one of the controversial passages in Nielsen's memoir, *The House Is Not a Home*, published last week. Although Nielsen did not name Kelly in his book, she told Mulroney that his description of their relationship—including her abortion of an earlier pregnancy by Nielsen—had left her so angry that she decided to tell her side of the story. Said Kelly: "He is not the man I thought he was."

Certainly, the former deputy prime minister's candor shattered a reputation for secrecy so obsessive that, before his resignation in 1987, he earned the nickname *Velvet Lips*. The book—written with journalist Walter Stew-

art—offers harsh assessments of several former colleagues in an appendix that quickly became known in Ottawa circles as "the Nielsen Ratings." Nielsen dismisses former defence minister Robert Coates, for example, as "a very cabinet material." But at least one Tory veteran said that while reminiscing with Nielsen in keeping with Nielsen's character, "Erik was always, 'believe it or not,'" and Helen West her Howard Crossley.

Nielsen earned his strongest criticism for the Mulroney government's exercise of political patronage. But Conservative loyalists turned that attack back on its author. They portrayed Nielsen as a hypocrite who, after his

retirement as an MP, accepted a choice political appointment—a five-year stint as chairman of the National Transportation Agency, responsible for regulating air, rail and water traffic, with a salary of \$143,000 a year. Said Ottawa columnist William Ross, Mulroney's former communications director, at Nielsen: "He was always deemed to have met great quality—loyalty." That is not in great evidence at this book. For his part, Mulroney acknowledged that he had read parts of the book but would not comment on them. Privately, however, people close to Mulroney said that he was as disappointed as he was angry. Said one former aide: "The multiplicity is now to just forget him."

For Deborah Kelly, Erik Nielsen will be harder to forget. According to Kelly, her son, now 18, has given up his attempts to contact his father after receiving no reply to the many letters he wrote as a youngster. But Kelly still receives a \$500 monthly support payment from Nielsen. Recently, Kelly dropped a plan to write her own book about Nielsen, she said, she thought it would hurt Nielsen. Now, she added, she is reconsidering that decision.

LENA VAN DUSEN in Ottawa



Nielsen: patronage

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THE MOULD BREAKS

Throughout the Soviet bloc, the process of democratization seemed to be gathering speed last week. A non-Communist prime minister took over in Poland, while Hungary continued its own march toward democracy. Thousands fled to the West from hardline East Germany, and police arrested hundreds during anti-Soviet demonstrations in unfolding Czechoslovakia. In the Soviet Union itself, two million Baltic formed a 645-km-long human chain to protest against rule by Moscow, and there were new stirrings of ethnic revolt in the Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Moldova. And while the Soviet bloc's remaining overthrown regimes lacked an evident destiny, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev seemed to encourage the process of change. He announced an official denunciation of secret protocols to the 1939 Hitler-Stalin nonaggression treaty, which led to the joint invasion of Poland and opened the way to Soviet annexation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania (page 24). And Gorbachev told Poland's devastated Communist party that it had to opt-in but to accept a subordinate role in a government led by the Solidarity movement it once defied.

EVENTS IN POLAND AND THROUGHOUT EASTERN EUROPE SIGNAL A CHANGE IN THE OLD ORDER

Two days later, the Polish parliament endorsed veteran Solidarity activist Lech Wałęsa, 62, as head of the country's first non-Communist postwar government. Watching the television proceedings in his Gdańsk office, Solidarity leader Lesz Wałęsa wiped tears from his cheeks as all but 48 of the 173 Communist deputies supported Wałęsa's nomination and joined in the thousands applause that greeted the result—378 in favor, four against, 41 abstentions. Almost three out of four Communist deputies had voted for

Wałęsa, even though he had declared an advance that he would move Poland as quickly as possible from a socialist to a capitalist economy. And Wałęsa, in a speech before the vote, "Our strategy is to answer for the mistakes of a market economy. Poland can no longer afford ideological experiments."

Coinciding with the 50th anniversary of the Nazi-Soviet pact, the events in Poland, the other Warsaw Pact countries and the Soviet Union itself assumed added symbolic significance. Of course, we are among the last legions of the Soviet Empire," said Adam Ussin, professor of Soviet studies at Harvard University. "What is happening in Poland and Hungary, and what will happen elsewhere, is a clear sign that the old form of Soviet imperialism is under severe attack."

Cracks in the postwar system were clearest in Poland. With an estimated 90 per cent of its industry under state control, the economy has almost ceased to function. Inflation is approaching an annual rate of 200 per cent, shortages of food and other basic necessities widespread, and the country has a crippling \$44-billion foreign debt. To tackle that situation, the new Polish government is looking to the West for financial aid—and quickly. On Aug. 25, Wałęsa appealed to visiting Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, the U.S. Republican party's leader in the Senate, in a letter message such as President George Bush's "We hope to help twice."

In the run-up to Wałęsa's endorsement by the Sejm, or lower house of parliament, the Communist party spent days of soul-searching. At first, party members were clearly shaken and outraged at the Aug. 18 nomination of Wałęsa by President Gorbachev. Eventually, they moved on to offering a number of key ministries as a condition. But after a 40-minute telephone conversation between the Soviet leader and Polish Communist party chairman Mieczysław Rakowski, the Communists abruptly modified their rhetoric. Before their demands for cabinet posts in addition to the defense and interior ministries that they had already been promised, they opted for what a party spokesman termed "partial cooperation" with Solidarity. In fact, their control of the key defense and interior minis-

tries still gave them a strong voice in the conduct of Polish affairs and underscored Wałęsa's guarantee that the country would remain in the Warsaw Pact.

As Poland set out on its new course, other parts of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union were in ferment. Much of it was linked to the 50th anniversary, on Aug. 23, of the Hitler-Stalin pact. Soviet Politburo member and Gorbachev adviser Alexander Yakovlev said recently that the secret protocols should be "unambiguously condemned." Despite his con-

ced that day, working Soviet police ignored dozens of demonstrations in Riga, the Ukrainian capital, as they waved Ukrainian yellow-blue national flags. And, although not related to the anniversary, there were reports that police arrested nationalist demonstrators in the neighboring Caucasian republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Moscow, Czechoslovakia also marked an anniversary. Thousands of demonstrators marched in the streets of Prague and other cities to protest the Soviet-led invasion of Aug.



Candlelit vigil in the Baltic. Displaced millions form a 645-km-long chain

demism, Yakovlev stated that the protocols had no bearing on the Baltic region's current status as an integral part of the Soviet Union. That was clearly not acceptable to many Balts. An estimated two million of them lived inside in a human chain stretching from the northern border of Estonia to the southern border of Lithuania to denounce their demands for independence.

The Polish Communist party also condemned the Nazi-Soviet pact as "reviled and a violation of international law." That condemnation followed a statement by a panel of Polish Communist historians, naming the Soviets for the massacre of thousands of Polish army officers in the Katyn Prison during the Second World War.

Parts of the Western Ukraine and the Black Sea republic of Moldova were also annexed by the Soviets under the Hitler-Stalin pact, and the anniversary was marked by protest demonstrations in both regions. (Continued on page 24)

World Notes

A RIVERBANK DISASTER

In London, police continued to search the River Thames for bodies of people drowned when a ship carrying a phreatic boat chartered for a birthday party, sinking it. Of the estimated 120 people aboard the *Marathon*, 53 survived the nighttime collision. But 60 people died and six are still missing—including Peter Allen, 33, of Vancouver, B.C., a student at the University of London.

JAPAN'S NEW SEX SCANDAL

Disturbed in recent months by a spate of scandals, Japan's Liberal Democratic party government suffered yet another setback. Chief Cabinet Secretary Tōko Yoshida, 64, resigned after admitting that he had an affair with a bar girl. He was replaced by a woman, 61-year-old Mayumi Moriyama, the former head of Japan's government agency.

AN IRVING HEADING

A hijacking ended peacefully when an American airplane headed, who claimed to have a bomb aboard as an Air France flight from Paris to Algeria and demanded an international conference to discuss the war in Lebanon, surrendered to police in Algeria airport.

CHARGES OF SPYING

South Korean prosecutors charged espionage leader Kim Dae-jung with involvement in a spy scandal. Kim, who had been called to turn in a colleague who had made an alleged trip to Communist North Korea, Kim denied the charge, saying that President Park Dae-jung's government fabricated the case to discredit him politically.

EXTRADITION FERE

New environmental organizations filed suit against Exxon Corp., seeking a federal court order that would require the company to continue its cleanup of a massive oil spill which occurred when the tanker *Exxon Valdez* ran aground off the coast of Alaska last March. Exxon recently announced that, in September, it will sharply curtail its cleanup.

GREEK JUSTICE

The Greek parliament voted to set up a special court to try former cabinet minister Nikos Karamanlis on corruption charges related to financial scandals that brought down the Socialist government of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu last year. In Athens, a U.S. magazine editor told his Greek friend, Senator George Kenton, who was implicated in the scandal, he attributed to Greece.



Mazowiecki with Wałęsa: "Poland can no longer afford ideological experiments"

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WORLD



Colombian soldiers raiding a cocaine depot: public rage over a hero's murder

COLOMBIA

The cocaine war

Washington and Bogotá battle the drug lords

It was a declaration of war. On Aug. 18, only hours after Luis Carlos Gallo—the leading candidate for the presidency in Colombia's national elections and May—was shot to death by suspected members of the country's notorious Medellín cocaine cartel, President Virgilio Barco announced an all-out crackdown on the country's drug lords, levying state of siege powers. Barco last week ordered Colombian authorities to seize the lavish properties of alleged narcos, capos, or drug kingpins, and he promised to ruthlessly retaliate those wanted abroad. Then, President George Bush pledged \$20 million in emergency aid to the country. Colombian authorities also arrested more than 10,000 people, including five men suspected of killing Gallo, who had pledged to do everything possible to drive the drug lords from Colombia. His death—as a country racked by almost 3,000 political and drug-related murders each year—led to a massive upsurge of rage. More than 10,000 rioters packed the streets of Bogotá for his funeral procession last week, many of them shouting "Death to the drug traffickers. They haven't killed a man, they have killed the Colombian people."

But the rioters vowed to fight back. In a statement sent to local media, a group calling itself "The Self-Defendables," which is linked to the Medellín cartel, declared "total war" on Barco's government. That declaration coincided

with bombings at the offices of the country's two main political parties in Medellín. The authorities clearly face a formidable foe. Police say that an estimated 140 heavily armed paramilitary squads of 20 to 30 men each have extended the drug barons' control over vast stretches of the countryside. And the eight world-renowned economic power. Drug cartels in Medellín and Cali make an estimated \$3 billion annually, as much as Colombia's legitimate exports in their battle against the opium. Colombian authorities will be aided by the U.S. anti-drug package announced on Aug. 25.

White House spokesman Martin Fitzwater said in Washington, D.C., where Bush is building, that the United States would begin shipping equipment, including military helicopters, aircraft and arms, to Colombia within a week. U.S. advisors will also be sent for equipment maintenance and training purposes. Fitzwater said, but "it is not anticipated that they would be in a combat role." He also urged America's allies to support Colombia's efforts to combat the Medellín and Cali cartels—which experts say ship more than 600 tons of cocaine to Europe and North America each year. Declared Fitzwater. "We have a war situation in America, let alone in Colombia."

Barco is clearly prepared to extradite traffickers wanted in the United States, an action that some Colombians say would relieve national severities. Colombian officials claimed last

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WORLD

week that Gaitan's murder had neutralized nationalist opposition to extradition. But Barco still faces a legal obstacle. The Colombian Supreme Court ruled in 1987 that a U.S.-Colombian extradition treaty was unconstitutional. And legal experts feel that the Supreme Court may yet rule that Barco's emergency decree—which strips the merit of jurisdiction in extradition cases—is unconstitutional as well.

Since 1987, the drug lords have operated in Colombia with little official interference. Policemen and judges who tried to break up the cartels have been bribed or threatened into silence. And an estimated 1,200 judges and court employees have been killed since 1981, as well as the prime minister and the attorney general. Indeed, in the 48 hours preceding Gaitan's murder, assassins killed Bogotá magistrate Carlos Velez García and a senior police official. Velez died after he spied on arrest warrants for Pablo Escobar, the reputed leader of the Medellín cartel. After the murder, Colombia's 6,379 judges went on strike. Most returned to work on Aug. 23, after Barco pledged to spend more on their protection.

U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh has asked Colombian authorities to arrest what he described as 12 "drug trafficking kingpins" as the first step toward their extradition. Declined Thornburgh: "What the major kingpins really fear is coming to the United States." The 12 cops are in hiding, but the Colombians did arrest a suspected Medellín cartel figure, Eduardo Martínez Rentería, who was indicted in Atlanta last March on charges of laundering drug money. At week's end, U.S. authorities were preparing extradition papers for Martínez.

Meanwhile, in Canada, Fredericton court charged a Colombian, Diego Capoco, with conspiracy to export cocaine into Canada between June, 1988 and April, 1989. Capoco, who lives in Colombia, is allegedly the Medellín cartel's chief organizer of cocaine shipments to Canada. Capoco does not have an extradition treaty with Bogotá, but RCMP officials said they were hopeful that Barco's decree would make Capoco's extradition possible. Real-Sgt. Mark Fitzmaurice of the RCMP's drug division in Fredericton: "We see this as an opportunity."

Law enforcement officials in Canada and the United States agree on one thing: if the Colombian—with their considerable U.S. support—can bring the top cartel leaders to justice in the United States, they could strike a serious blow against the cocaine trade. As Terry Becker, deputy for operations in the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency, pointed out, these extraditions would give the beleaguered Colombian judicial system a chance to regroup against the drug trade. "It won't be an overnight miracle," Becker warned. In fact, the bloodshed will likely continue. But Gaitan's death, if not as direct as he himself set international war against the mighty cocaine trade.

MARK SCHWARTZ with **LESLIE HAYMAN** in **Dynasty**. **ANALY MACKENZIE** in **Washington** and **BOGIE** **BEERS** in **Aladdin**.

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A YEARNING FOR CHANGE

**THE LEGACY LEFT BY
EUROPE'S GREAT CIVIL WAR
IS A CHOICE BETWEEN
CIVILIZATION AND BARBARISM**

BY MORRIS KESTEIN

Our century has witnessed unprecedented horror and danger. It has also produced unprecedented change and excitement. The two world wars—the first began 13 years ago in August, the second 50 years ago in September—are central to the 20th-century experience. They were the product of a world in metamorphosis. Even more strikingly, they adjoined superindustrialization, invention and a hunger for services that crossed social, political and religious boundaries.

There is general agreement now that the Second World War was simply a continuation of the 1914-1918 war. The two together and their aftermath, which is with us still, constitute the third major civil war of modern Western civilization. The first, beset by the Protestant Reformation, culminated in the Thirty Years' War of 1618-1648, which expelled Europe from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean. The second, which began with the revolt of Britain's American colonies in 1775, came to a climax in the 19th-century wars spawned by the French Revolution and Napoleon.

The great civil war of our century, like those before, has revolved around the quest for power, and just who should exercise that power. But, as a more general issue, events in the 20th century's war were touched by a kind of real-time widespread disorientation with existing conditions and a strong desire for change, simply for the sake of change. On the international stage, Germany won the principal agent of that mood of change in the first half of the century. As a result, Europe was the epicenter of the upheavals that resulted.

Aus was experiencing its own turmoil. But despite internal revolutions and even the eventual Pacific war, with all its dimensions, including the use of the atomic bomb at August, 1945, remained

secondary in relation to the implications of the European crisis.

If the First World War aroused a sense of unity, the Second led to nihilism. The Hitler-Stalin pact of Aug. 23, 1939, not only precipitated the war, it set the tone for what was to come—a solidarity beyond common sense. In June, 1941, Hitler betrayed the partner who had just, appropriately, said their deal had been "signed in blood." As a result, Western capitalism and Bolshevik communism were suddenly thrown together. The mutual enforcements that followed among these unlikely adversaries—Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin—were worthy of a Mel Brooks comedy.

Between 1941 and 1945, as technology, the very symbol of Western progress, was used to promote barbarism, the barbarism became bloody, in death camps, in crumbling cities and in besieged countryside. The pace of change became more frenzied, the sounds shriller.

Millions died, and their deaths seemed to call out for more of the same. Millions were uprooted. The world represented the greatest ambivalence and the greatest movement of peoples ever. The war, Hitler had said, was for German living space. At the end, in part of the non-innocent, pulverized and partitioned former Reich, many Germans had less than four square metres of living space to themselves.

After 1945, the Cold War that was the offspring of the hot war's own contradictions quickly followed in its wake and rapidly enveloped the world. But while ideology produced irreconcilable differences between East and West, and while both camps scored for the spyglass, the practical consensus of citizens on either side of the Iron Curtain proved to be remarkably similar—a quest for a measure of material well-being and security.

Klaus Mann, the writer who left his native Germany upon Hitler's accession in 1933, was in 1945 only two opinions, as was I, conviction or a world without it. His own conviction as the letters four years later, was absolute. However, bleak pessimism, those opinions are with us still. And for the first time in decades, there is a degree of optimism that Klaus Mann would have sensed, a sense that we may finally be large to end the great civil war of the 20th century.

The common European home of which Mikhail Gorbachev speaks is neither with domestic and similar problems, but at least the idea suggests constructive rather than destructive energies. In the prosperous 1990s, a U.S. electronic magazine compared-up images of a chicken in every American pot. The dust of the New World home will be very different—probably the hamburger that America has bequeathed to the world, created by access of the computer chip that the Japanese jump imported.

Many research studies this century in Germany that remain central to the resolution of the European and world problem, it encountered a test of an internationalist future in the old north German community of Pilsener. On the site of the old city hall, built originally in 1445, there now stands a McDonald's.

The most recent book by Morris Kestein, a professor of history at the Southampton campus of the University of Exeter, is *History of the World War and the Birth of the Modern Age*.



THE LEGACY OF WORLD WAR II

In the heart of the city where Adolf Hitler launched his brutal campaign to impose a New Order on Europe, at the spot where East symbolically meets West, it is as if the Continent is still locked in hostility and frozen in the days of the Cold War. Two weeks after a blazing mid-August sun, with tourists casually snapping souvenir photographs, the Berlin Wall cannot escape its usage as one of the world's most profound symbols of political oppression. On Aug. 15, the anniversary of the day in 1961 when East Germany's Communist government began building the Wall, it was the stage for yet another ritual confrontation. At Checkpoint Charlie, the fabled border-crossing point, a West German civil rights campaigner waved Wolfgang Ickebach lay across the dusty white line that marks the boundary between East and West Berlin to demonstrate how the Wall "cuts through our lives." And, on the other side of the divided city, 90 young East Germans tried to tear down the Wall and chanted, "We want to get out." The incident confirmed in all the stereotypes of postwar Europe—divided into two hostile camps by a sinister and heavily guarded border.

But only six days later, another incident along the political fault line that runs through the Continent drew national headlines: two assumptions are changing. For thousands of other East Germans seeking new lives, escaping to the West was, quite literally, a picnic. They joined a gathering at the border between Austria and Hungary where local people had assembled to picnic and celebrate the removal of the barbed-wire fence marking what was known for four decades as the Iron Curtain. As Hungarian border guards watched impassively, about 500 East Germans—some crying, others laughing—simply pushed over a gate and walked along a muddy track into Austria and freedom.

That scene was a joyful contrast to Europe's ap-

A HALF-CENTURY AFTER THE WAR BEGAN, THE OLD EUROPEAN ORDER IS MELTING

political past. Fifty years ago—in Sept. 1, 1939—Hitler sent an army of young Germans eastward to seek the "living room" promised by their Nazi leaders. Under the cover of pseudo democracy, they swarmed Poland and plunged Europe into a nightmare of killing that lasted almost six years. Two days later, Britain and France declared war on Germany and, a week after that, Canada joined Britain at war.



Before it was over, the United States, the Soviet Union and much of the rest of the world were engulfed in the most devastating war in human experience. The Second World War cost 55 million lives—and the Europe that emerged from it was quickly splintered. Between the capitalist West and the communist East there was only mutual suspicion and little contact. But now, half a century after the catastrophe that split Europe, the familiar postwar order is melting with astounding speed.

Niger, lured by Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union, the once-monolithic eastern half of the Continent is a dizzying. Old rivalries are re-emerging as the nations once collectively known as the Soviet Bloc go their separate ways. Arms negotiations on both sides are preparing to resume talks in Vienna on Sept. 7 that may lead to deep cuts in conventional forces in Europe within as little as 12 months. Western Europe, traditionally in the shadow of American military and economic might, is showing new signs of it moves toward much closer economic union in 1992. And West Germany is maintaining a more assertive political role more in tune with its longstanding economic strength.

Now, those apparently disconnected processes are merging. Eastern Europe, hiding further into economic stagnation, is scrambling to forge links with the revitalized European Community. Tens of thousands of Poles, Germans and other Eastern Europeans, driven by both the promise of freedom and the lure of prosperity, are migrating westward this summer in the largest human tide since the late 1840s. And in the West, debate is rapidly growing over how to respond to the shifting patterns in the East. One answer will come in September, when the EC plans to deliver about \$550 million worth of food aid to Poland, foot-



West Berlin's Tiergarten district (opposite) Hitler with two of his generals; new slogans reflect a changing reality

pled by 24 industrial countries, including Canada. For the first time, the European Commission, the EC's executive body, was given the task of co-ordinating all Western aid. It was a new step at the emergence of the EC as a political entity—and a recognition of Western Europe's special role in any plan to help the falling East.

Nazis: Politicians and businessmen have swiftly come up slogans to reflect the changing realities. Gorbachev, on visits to West Germany and France earlier this summer, greeted his concept of a "common European house" in an effort to break down the East-West divide. In a speech to the European Parliament in Strasbourg on July 6, he proposed a European summit within two years to consider the framework for a "new European community of the 21st century"—one that would include Mos-

cows as well as Muslims. And President George Bush, in an address to the Polish parliament recently, spoke of his vision of "Europe whole and free." Both concepts may be vague—but they can counter to all the assumptions of the postwar order.

Western leaders generally welcome those changes after four decades of dominating the division of Europe. But, increasingly, many officials in the West are now also emphasizing the potential risks involved in uprooting the established order—and the enormous difficulties that must be faced in any attempt to build the promising vision. The division of Europe, bolstered by nuclear deterrents on both sides, was welded equivalent to Western concepts of democracy, the analysts note, but it produced a stable, powerful Europe. "You can argue that the old stability was quite pleasant," the Rus-

sians kept their side quiet and we kept our quiet," says David Anderson, a former American diplomat and director of the Aspen Institute, a West Berlin think tank. "But now Gorbachev is changing the rules—and most of us are ill-equipped."

Geoffrey Moss observers are drawing attention to those new problems. Historically, Europe, they note, has been weakened by bitter national, ethnic and religious conflicts—the last for two world wars and countless other conflicts. Lifting the artificial unity imposed on Eastern Europe by its Stalinist regimes after the Second World War has produced severe tensions.

Hungary and Romania are quarreling bitterly over Romania's treatment of its Hungarian minority. The governments of Poland and Hungary, by far the most liberal Eastern nations,

both recently condemned the 1998 Warsaw Pact revision of Candelaria's hard-line government, which continues to defend the crushing of its reformist experiment 30 years ago last week. East Germany, similarly, has confirmed what it calls "unmistakable" tendencies in neighboring countries. And its relations with Hungary are tense because of that country's decision to dismantle the barbed-wire fence along its border with Austria—frustrating leaders of East Germany to take advantage of a new route to the West.

Barriers: Some of the tension in Eastern Europe arises from long-standing agreements over the treatment of borders and spheres of influence arranged in 1939 between Berlin and Moscow, and in 1945 among the victors. After 40 years, tensions in the Soviet city of Yalta and in the occupied German city of Potsdam. Only last week, massed anti-Soviet demonstrations in the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania marked the 50th anniversary of a Hitler-Stalin pact that they blame for giving them under the Kremlin rule. In Poland, which was partitioned under the 1939 pact—the Soviet Union retained a 70,000-square-mile slice of southeastern Poland after the war—the new parliament in Warsaw also condemned the

Hitler-Stalin agreement. Some of the pressure experienced by West Germany to accept a new grant of German sovereignty comes from Poland, which gained more than 48,000 square miles of previous German territory by an agreement among the Soviet, U.S. and British leaders at

part of a new peace confab to the West that has been provided by economic decline and political stagnation in Eastern Europe. West Germany, in particular, has been mandated by tens of thousands of refugees—East Germans as well as people from Poland and the Soviet Union



Soviet technicians dismantle a K-12 missile; war in conventional forces may be imminent

disarming German weapons, which even them the right of citizenship in West Germany. Last year, West Germany received 246,000 such immigrants. "Densely, not sparsely," and this year, officials expect the total to be well over 350,000. From East Germany alone, they now

claiming German ancestry, which even them the right of citizenship in West Germany. Last year, West Germany received 246,000 such immigrants. "Densely, not sparsely," and this year, officials expect the total to be well over 350,000. From East Germany alone, they now

THE SECRET PROTOCOLS

Secret 1939 Soviet-German pact signed in Moscow in foreign minister Vyacheslav Molotov and Joachim von Ribbentrop, setting spheres of influence in the Soviet Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and in Poland. The text.

On the occasion of the signature of the nonaggression treaty between the German Reich and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the undersigned plenipotentiaries of the two parties, desirous of strictly confidential conversations, the question of the determination of their respective spheres of interest in Eastern Europe. These conversations led to the following result: 1. In the event of a territorial and political transformation in the territories belonging to the Baltic states (Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, and so on), the northern border of Lithuania shall represent the frontier of the spheres of interest both of Germany and the

U.S.S.R. In this connection, the interest of Lithuania in the Vistula territory is recognized by both parties. 2. In the event of a territorial and political transformation of the territories belonging to the Polish state, the spheres of interest of both Germany and the U.S.S.R. shall be bounded approximately by the line of the river Narew, Vistula and San. The question whether the interests of both parties in the maintenance of an independent Polish state appear desirable and how the frontiers of this state should be drawn can be definitely discussed only in the course of further political developments. In any case, both governments will resolve this question by means of a friendly understanding. 3. With regard to Southeastern Europe, the Soviet side recognizes its interest in Bessarabia (then in Romania, now in the Soviet Union). The German side declares complete political abstinence in these territories. 4. This protocol will be treated by both parties as strictly secret. —Moscow, Aug. 23, 1939

The secret supplementary protocol signed on Aug. 23, 1939, is amended at No. 1 in that the territory of Lithuania comes under the

U.S.S.R. sphere of interest, because on the whole, into the administrative district "Pomerania" of Lules and parts of the administrative district of Warsaw came under the German sphere of influence. Of course, accompanying the boundary and boundary frontier revised before. As soon as the government of the U.S.S.R. takes special measures to safeguard its interests in Lithuanian territory, the present German-Lithuanian border will be extended to the interests of supply and natural dependence, so that the territory of Lithuania lying southwest of the line drawn in the accompanying map will fall to Germany. It is further established that the economic arrangements in force at the present time between Germany and Lithuania will be in no way changed by the aforementioned measures being taken by the Soviet Union. —Moscow, Sept. 28, 1939

On June 28, 1940, Germany yielded its remaining slice of Lithuania for Soviet annexation of "1,937,500 inhabitants, or 20 percent of national total" and "27,642,500 swastikas, in gold."



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expect more than 180,000 refugees—a up from just 44,000 last year.

That food has produced a crisis in relations between the two Germans. Bonn closed its missions in East Berlin, Prague and Budapest late in August after about 300 East Germans seeking asylum picked the buildings and refused to leave. Last week, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl asked the East German leader, Erich Honecker, for an urgent meeting to discuss the problem. Meanwhile, Kohl must also deal with a backlash against the new tide of immigrants. Most analysts agree that an imminent merger would mean West Germans against newcomers, whom they fear will compete for jobs and housing, has contributed to an upsurge in support for the far-right Republikaner party. Led by ex-Nazi Waffen SS officer Franz Schönhuber, the Republikaner won 7.5 per cent of the German vote in elections to the European Parliament in June—clear warning to Kohl's ruling Christian Democrats: "Does that fit a new electoral thrust from the right."

Rules: Those who are seeking new lives in the West provide similar explanations for their actions. At a crowded refugee centre in West Berlin's Marienfelde district recently, a young couple from Warsaw declared why they decided to leave: "It is worse and worse in Poland," said Dariusz Bogdan Mierzwinski, 22, who has applied to stay with his 24-year-old husband, Jacek, under rules that allow people of German background to migrate to West Germany. "The government may be changing—but it will take years to make things better, and we want to live now." Refugees from East Germany also speak of their desire for a free life. "I waited 13 years to get out," said a 46-year-old woman who gave her name only as Monika. "I lost my regular job as a nurse as I said I wanted to go, and ever since then, I haven't been able to plan for the future. Now I feel as though I can begin my real life."

The tide of migrants from the East will likely swell as East European economies deteriorate and their governments relax emigration rules. That has led some



Workers in a French car factory: a vision of a 'new European community of the 21st century'

Western observers to note that it would not be in the interest of Western Europe if what remains of the Iron Curtain, including the Berlin Wall, were to be torn down. "The Wall is in many ways a blessing for the West," said one Western diplomat based in West Berlin. "If it disappeared tomorrow there would be a real problem. The East would lose people it cannot afford to lose, and the West could not absorb them all."

London shoppers: fears of a 'homocentric conglomerate' in Europe



Recognition of these problems has led to a renewed debate over what Western countries should do to ease the East's painful process of transition to market-oriented economies. During the 1970s, Western banks lent billions of dollars to such countries in Poland and Hungary. The result: the money was wasted through investments in inefficient industry, and the countries were saddled with massive foreign debts—in Poland's case, \$40 billion—that continue to cripple their efforts at economic recovery. That experience has provided another caution in considering any new Western aid to the region—but some analysts still maintain that a major effort is required.

Money: At one extreme are those who call for a continued Western program inspired partly by the American Marshall Plan, which helped restore the devastated economies of Western Europe in the late 1940s and the 1950s. Says William O'Brien Jr., an expert on East-West relations at the Free University in West Berlin: "We need some kind of Marshall Plan—a massive economic engagement for the reconstruction of the part of the world that we are talking about billions of dollars." The money, he said, could be channelled through a fund to

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CANADIAN MIST

*Based on a leading trade journal's 1990 report comparing annual volume of exports/imports, April 1991

perised by the International Monetary Fund to help such countries in Hungary and Poland ease the pain that will stem from the bankings and unemployment that are bound to follow major economic restructuring. "Ultimately, it is in our interest," Jackson said in an interview. "Western Europe sees an economic backdrop for investment—and the East can play that role."

Plus. Many other experts, however, stress the many hurdles that must be passed before such a plan could work. Reform-minded East

Western Pact countries—may become EC members.

But that may prove to be impossible. Peter Ludlow, the director of the Centre for European Policy Studies at Brussels, noted that even if the Warsaw Pact broke up, its members would still have to remain outside countries in the shadow of the Soviet Union. That status would conflict with the EC's current attempts to gain greater influence in European defense. Said Ludlow: "That best membership is needed nations—and specifically to those whose con-

European business circles, leading to state-owned company mergers and dozens of joint ventures designed to make Europe competitive with Japan and the United States in high technology. Those include co-operative ventures to build high definition television systems, massive, advanced circuit chips—and even a European satellite. In the same time, plans to eliminate or reduce border controls will increase the need for police and customs officers in different countries to communicate quickly. As a result, the EC has recently commissioned a \$100,000 study to develop "Eurolingua"—a type of standardized language that will enable security forces to speak to each other with a minimum of misunderstanding.

Codem. The scope of the 1993 plan, however, has resulted in sharp debate among community leaders. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has been most critical of what she regards as attempts to use 1992 to undermine national sovereignty or impose socialist values on business through the EC's proposed "Social Charter," which would set out minimum requirements for such codes as health and safety standards and union rights. "We did not join Europe," she said in June, "to be swallowed up in some bureaucratic conglomerate whose life is 'Eurocrat' and Eurostat." Thatcher's attitude, as well as the general division among 12 distinct nations, have slowed sharp negotiations over the next year as the EC tackles such controversial issues as its 1993 plan to monetary union and plans to harmonize value tax rates.

In both the privatized EC and debates over Western aid to Eastern Europe, West Germany increasingly plays the key role. Traditionally the economic engine of Europe, Bonn was centrally conscious in the post-war period of Germany's structure as a hegemon, and as a result, it was reluctant to search for political unity in a direct way. The political drive in Eastern Europe has also caused West Germans to raise new doubts about the necessity of maintaining large NATO armies and arms stocks on their territory—and tempted them to look outward for new economic opportunities. As a result, many analysts, West Germany is rapidly becoming more assertive in defining its own interests. As the latest news arrived in late May, the leaders adopted positions on short-range nuclear weapons that were close to proposals pressed by Kohl—East-West negotiations to reduce these armaments before proceeding with NATO plans to modernize them in the mid 1990s.

Role. The area where the United States, Britain and France could virtually dictate policy in West Germany is clearly one. "For the United States, it is going to be difficult to reject," says Robert Langlois, director of the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies at



Gorbachev, Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta: a realignment of borders in postwar Europe

ern countries, they say, must finally break with socialist economies and introduce key measures, such as market pricing and taxing that encourages competition with Western economies. But with those measures, say the pessimists, Eastern Europe's economies are shut out to such extent that there is little the West can do. "It is nonsense to talk of a Marshall Plan," said David Anderson of the Aspen Institute. "Who will invest the financial resources? There is nothing out there [in the East] and, quite frankly, there is not much we can do. They really must save themselves."

Realization that they are slipping further behind the West has led the Eastern Bloc countries to seek new economic links with Western Europe. In June 1989, the East Bloc's economic association, COMECON, signed a mutual-recognition accord with the EC. Since then, all the Eastern nations except Romania have negotiated individual agreements with the common market. The biggest accord, a 10-year pact with the Soviet Union covering commercial exchanges as well as cooperation in the fields of energy and technology is due to be signed this fall. Kohl has predicted that, within 10 years, some Eastern Bloc nations—notably Hungary, the most Western-looking of all the

colony was imposed by Moscow. They would not be totally independent. Other nations are also knocking on the EC's door—including Turkey and Moscow, which have both applied for membership. New enthusiasm for the common market has been inspired largely by its ambitious plan to establish a real single market of 303 million consumers by the end of 1992 among the 12—West Germany, Britain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, Ireland, Greece, Spain and Portugal. Trade tariffs among EC members were removed in the decade following its formation in 1957. But the 1992 plan would go much further by tearing down dozens of non-tariff barriers that have hindered trade, including differing technical standards and government procurement policies. In July, the EC reported that it had adopted about half of the 270 pieces of legislation that make up the plan—keeping it on schedule. That same month, community leaders also pledged to embark by mid-1990 on the first stage of monetary union—which could eventually lead to a common European currency replacing pounds, marks, francs and the other national currencies.

Planning for 1990 has reached fever pitch in

INCIDENTS SIGNAL A SHIFT ON EUROPE'S POLITICAL FAULT LINE

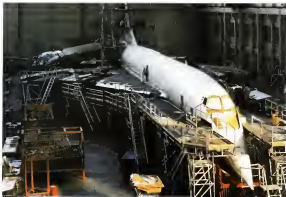
Johannes Hoptmann University in Baltimore: "We are going to have to enter the German as much bigger role."

West Germany has also been most responsive to calls for economic aid from the East. In part, that results from a feeling of national kinship with the people of East Germany.

West Germany's enthusiasm for the reform process in the East has seemed heartening among some Western analysts that it might slip away from NATO toward a neutral position between the superpowers. It has also renewed debate over a possible reunification of the two German states. Next across observers, especially

Germans could find a formula for a loose confederation or a recognition of certain passage—that could be easily with the rest of Europe." In that case, even the Berlin Wall might remain—but it would become increasingly irrelevant as contacts and exchanges between the estranged halves of Germany increased. Karl Klau-Hartel, a spokesman for West Berlin's Senate, its local government: "We don't need rhetorical calls to 'tear down the Wall.' We need to work toward a situation where the Wall may still be there—but it loses much of the horror that it represents now."

The new patterns now taking shape across



Concorde jet under construction in France. Eastern Europe is seeking new links with a revitalized European community.

Despite the two governments' sharp political differences, West Germany subsidizes the East German economy by about \$1.5 billion a year through such measures as payments for the use and maintenance of access roads to East Berlin and through hard currency aid by West Germany to family members in the East. Now, the West German government is pressing for aid and co-operation projects with other Eastern Bloc nations. West German trade with the East remains at only two per cent of its trade with the West, but Eastern Europe remains a business ally for Germany, which dominated central Europe until Hitler's regime collapsed in 1945. "Under need to ensure the region's stability and peace," said West German analyst said in a recent interview. "To put it cynically, we can do it economically now."

Thus, in West Germany itself, despite both countries as grassroots. "We should not be too excited by every little move outward by the Germans," says Gregory Trivelpiece, a specialist on German affairs with the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City. "The Common Market will keep them in place."

Nine: And while West German politicians initially maintain that reunification with East Germany is their country's eventual aim, that is unlikely to happen in the foreseeable future. In fact, it seems more realistic to expect that the two Germans will modify their contacts and gradually draw closer together in a kind of new association that would avoid reuniting traditional European fears of a united Germany. Said David Fouquet, European editor of the London-based *Jewel's Defender Weekly*: "The

Europe give many people reasons to hope that the Continent may, indeed, be able to overcome the horrors of its recent past and emerge finally from the long shadow cast by war. "It is the most alarming period in Europe since 1945," says Gerdner. Lubow, a specialist in Soviet affairs at the London School of Economics. "Western Europe is coming together just as the Soviet empire is disintegrating. It is an opportunity for European statesmanship on a scale that has not existed since the war." For citizens of European on both sides of the divide that still separates them, the road that will be in just how slowly these opportunities are used.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Berlin with **WILLIAM LOWMYER** in Washington. **PETER LEWIS** in Brussels and correspondents report.



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Canadian troops escort German prisoners in England, 1944: 'the past of steel'

TURBULENT ERA

EUROPE'S STRUGGLES MAY BE EASING

The war that broke out in Europe 50 years ago this week marks a huge part of our history that were involved or affected by the 1914-1918 conflict. The Second World War, in turn, gave rise to the Cold War. Europe remains divided, armed camps, and many of the old territorial disputes, power struggles and ethnic hostilities still simmer. But the hopes of building a peaceful Europe are stronger now than at any time in the century. The major steps along the way:

AUGUST, 1914: The Great War erupts as a clash among rival alliances. After Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia on July 28, Russia mobilized against the Austro-Hungarian Empire and its ally, Germany. On Aug. 1, Germany declared war against Russia and, on Aug. 2, against Britain's ally, France, attacking through Belgium on the same day. On Aug. 4, Britain, honoring a defense pact with Belgium, declared war on Germany. That brought Canada and other British Empire nations into the conflict, and

later Italy, Japan and the United States. **NOV. 7, 1917:** The German army under Vladimir Lenin across power in Russia. Germany expects peace terms on March 3, 1918, forcing Soviet Russia to forfeit the Ukraine, Poland and its Baltic and Polish possessions under the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The treaty was nullified by the grand armistice **NOV. 11, 1918.** An armistice ending the

THE HORRORS OF WAR

The tolls of killings at Verdun clearly emerge as an edible horror of the Second World War. New, Toronto author James Bacque claims that up to one million German prisoners of war may have died in U.S. and French camps in Europe. In *Other Losses*, published last week, Bacque blames the hatred of German soldiers by Gen. Dwight Eisenhower. Allied Supreme Commander in Europe, for an alleged policy whereby U.S. authorities deliberately withheld food and shelter. Later, says Bacque, the deaths were concealed as a systematic ruse.

First World War is signed in a railway car at Compiègne, France. The fighting claimed more than 16 million lives, including 63,304 Canadians, at a time when Canada had a population of about eight million people.

JUNE 26, 1945: The Versailles Treaty imposes armistices, industrial restrictions, reparations payments and territorial limits on Germany.

SEPTEMBER, 1919: Adolf Hitler, an Austrian-born German army veteran, joins the small German Workers' Party in Munich, becomes its leader the following year and later changes its name to the National Socialist (Nazi) German Workers' Party.

OCT. 31, 1922: Benito Mussolini, a Milan newspaper editor who founded the Fascist party in 1919, is named prime minister of Italy by King Victor Emmanuel III during widespread civil unrest.

JAN. 30, 1933: Adolf Hitler is appointed chancellor of Germany (prime minister), the fourth in three years, by Paul von Hindenburg, the 85-year-old war hero, who served as Germany's president between 1915 and 1934. Hitler later outlawed opposition parties and seized dictatorial powers.

MARCH 5, 1933: Social-police open Dachau concentration camp, near Munich, imprisoning several thousand critics of the government, including Jews.

OCT. 3, 1935: Italy evades Disarmament (Navy) with planes, tanks and gas, while the League of Nations considers a border dispute with Britain Scotland and Ireland. The League votes to support the League of Nations against Italy, which leaves that organization and occupies Ethiopia unopposed until by Allied forces in 1941.

MARCH, 1938: Germany occupies the Rhineland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Belgium—territory that was supposed to have been partly demilitarized under the Versailles Treaty and later agreements.

APRIL 27, 1937: The first major aerial bombing of a civilian population takes place when German warplanes, carrying Gen. Francesco Ferrero's Phosphor Bombs, bomb the Spanish Civil War, attack the Basque town of Guernica in northern Spain, killing as many as 3,000 of its 7,800 people.

MARCH 12 TO 13, 1938: Austria becomes a province of Germany in the Anschluss (incorporation), an unopposed, Nazi-enforced occupation.

SEPT. 30, 1938: The Munich Agreement under Hitler, Mussolini and prime ministers Neville Chamber-

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EUROPE'S SHIFTING BORDERS



At the end of 1941, Germany (with Italy) held most of continental Europe, including Soviet lands west of a Leningrad-Moscow-Stalingrad line, except for Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal and the southern half of France.



lie of Britain and Edward Bolester of France announces Germany to occupy the Sudetenland, a border region of Czechoslovakia containing three million ethnic Germans. Nazi forces occupy Prague and most of the rest of Czechoslovakia the following March.

MARCH 31, 1939: All fighting ceases in the three-year Spanish Civil War, completing a victory by Fascist forces, who were assisted by German pilots, more than 50,000 Italian troops and other pro-Fascist volunteers against Spanish Republicans supported by the International Brigade of volunteers.

MAY 23, 1938: Germany and Italy sign the Pact of Steel, a military treaty strengthening a 1936 Rome-Berlin Axis agreement.

AUG. 23, 1939: Foreign ministers Vyacheslav Molotov and Joachim von Ribbentrop sign the Soviet-German nonaggression pact in Moscow. A secret protocol between the two powers calls for the partition of Poland and the Baltic states in the event of war.

AUG. 25, 1939: Britain signs a mutual-defense treaty with Poland.

SEPT. 1, 1939: German air, land and sea forces, including 52 army divisions, attack Poland at 5:45 a.m. local time.

SEPT. 3, 1939: Britain and France, India, Australia and New Zealand declare war on Germany. Canada declares war on Sept. 10.

SEPT. 17, 1939: Soviet troops invade Poland. The Polish government and military command flee into exile via Romania.

DEC. 23, 1939: The first Canadian soldiers arrive in Britain.

APRIL 9, 1940: German forces invade Denmark and Norway by land, sea and air.

MAY 10, 1940: Germany invades Belgium and the Netherlands. Neville Chamberlain resigns as British prime minister, and Winston Churchill, then first lord of the admiralty, forms a coalition government with Conservative, Liberal and Labour representatives.

MAY 13, 1940: German paratroopers land in northwest France and capture Lille. In the British House of Commons, Churchill calls for all-out prosecution of the war, saying "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat."

MAY 26 TO JUNE 4, 1940: A British flotilla of more than 500 ships and small craft evades more than 200,000 troops of a British Expeditionary Force and 100,000 French and Belgian troops from the channel port of Dunkirk in northern France. A German paratrooper command had trapped the Allied troops, forcing them to abandon tens of thousands of guns and vehicles.

JUNE 22, 1940: Eight days after German troops enter Paris, France signs an armistice in the secret railway coach at Compiègne, where Germany surrendered on Nov. 11, 1918.

JULY 10 TO OCT. 31, 1940: The Royal Air Force, including Canadian and other Commonwealth, Polish and other European fighter pilots, defeats the numerically superior German air force in the Battle of Britain, turning back an attempt to weaken Britain for an invasion.

APRIL 25, 1941: Germany formally surrenders to Germany and Italy.

JUNE 22, 1941: Twenty-two months after

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THE FACES OF WAR

BY 1944, GERMANY WAS CRUMBLING



(Clockwise from above) The saturation bombing of the German city of Dresden by Allied planes, killing at least 35,000 people overnight on Feb. 13 to 14, 1945, was one of the closing crimes in a war that began in September, 1939, with Hitler's invasion of Poland and his triumph in Warsaw on Oct. 8, 1939. Dresden's bombing was a counterpart to Germany's earlier aerial blitz of London in the summer of 1940, when St. Paul's Cathedral was one landmark that escaped destruction. The beginning of the end of the killing came with the Allied landing on the Normandy beaches of France on June 6, 1944—a satisfying turnaround for Britain's Winston Churchill and his senior army commanders, field marshals Alan Brooke and Bernard Montgomery.





AP/WIDE WORLD



The war's horrors were experienced from the beach at Dieppe, France, where more than 900 Canadian soldiers died on Aug. 19, 1942, to such Nazi concentration camps as Buchenwald in Germany, where advancing Allied troops found emaciated survivors, including children.



After almost six years of fighting, led by such commanders as Montgomery and German Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, Germany's surrender came rapidly and in many forms. So did the war's end: Italian dictator Benito Mussolini was killed by Italian forces celebrated in London's Piccadilly Circus.



AP/WIDE WORLD

THE TIES OF BLOOD

WAR MADE CANADA CHANGE DIRECTION

For many Canadians, the history of their country's involvement in the Second World War has been recounted by time. That process began with an assumption that Canada went to war in 1939 in a valiant effort to save democracy from the scourge of fascism. Some Canadians, to be sure, were anxious to join the fight against Adolf Hitler's Germany. But others, not least Prime Minister Mackenzie King himself, had mixed emotions about the prospect of taking up arms in Europe for the second time in a generation. "This is not our war," the Prime Minister blandly told a British delegation that visited Ottawa in October, 1939, to discuss Canada's participation. His remark outraged the British, but King was too cautious a politician to risk his government's popularity by unnecessarily endangering Canadian lives.

When in public, King delivered stirring declarations about winning Canada's "full participation" in the conflict. But his actions fell far short of his rhetoric. Indeed, in the early months of the war, King's efforts were directed mostly at minimizing the country's commitment of men and money. From Canada's perspective, he felt, the war was a "limited liability" conflict at best. In March, 1940, Ottawa had promised not to conscript men for overseas service. King's idea was not only to mollify Quebec—there were many French-speaking Canadians who viewed the war as a British affair—but also to reassure English-speaking Canadians who were out of British descent.

At first, even the British seemed satisfied with a modest Canadian contribution. On Sept. 3, three days after Britain declared war and four days before Canada did so, King asked London what role it wished Canada to play. He was advised to insist that Britain wanted only "a small Canadian unit, which would take its place alongside the United Kingdom troops."

Soon afterward, Canada agreed to establish the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, a program at 74 air force schools and depots to train pilots and air crews. That massive program later produced U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt to describe Canada as "the arsenal of democracy." For King, however, the plan's primary appeal lay in the



Canadian troops in Italy: back home, a shift in focus

fact that it would employ large numbers of Canadian streamers or contractors, far away from the carnage in Europe. In their book, *A Pattern Forged in Fire*, historians J. L. Granatstein and Desmond Morton note that a quarter of a million Canadians served during the war in the Royal Canadian Air Force or Britain's Royal Air Force. But only 94,000 went overseas, of whom 17,101 were killed. "Countless other men and women trained for war but spent their time as the multitude of essential engineers who kept every modern military machine operative," the authors point out.

Action: Curiously, there was no link of enthusiasm among the individuals who volunteered for the war. John Bryant was a 19-year-old from Stein River, B.C., when he joined the

air force on Sept. 16, 1939. "The war was where the action was," Bryant, now living in Burlington, Ont., recalled last week. As it happened, he spent the next five years at a number of Canadian air bases, gradually working his way up to leading instructor. After he was dropped from pilot training because of poor eyesight, he was posted to northern England to train for crew as a Lancaster bomber. He was a first-year fighter pilot when he was sent on his first bombing mission when Germany surrendered. "I remember being whiplashed about not going overseas, but there was nothing you could do," said Bryant. "Let me put it this way—the alternate in the RCAF was to be a pilot. They were the ones who got all the glamour and ended up as commanding officers. Most of the rest of us were trying to get into air crew positions."

Arrive: The experience of men who served in the army was much the same. The vanguard of the Canadian 1st Division arrived in Britain on Dec. 23, 1939. The first Canadians to see major action were the 1,075 troops who landed in Hong Kong two years later—a month before the British colony was overrun by the Japanese on Christmas Day, 1941. Eight months later, 4,963 Canadians took part in a badly conceived assault on Aug. 25, 1942, against the French port of Dieppe, where 967 died. Casualties were wounded and 1,674 were taken prisoner. But apart from those disasters, Canadian soldiers spent most of the first four years of the war training in England, with no idea of where or when they would see action.

Meanwhile, Canadian air and armor forces played major roles and dangerous roles. Indeed, for a year—from the fall of France in June, 1940, to Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union in June, 1941—Canada was Britain's main ally in terms of arms and manpower. Canadians helped win control of the skies in the Battle of Britain in the summer of 1940, and



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into new many of the heavy bombing raids against the enemy. The Royal Canadian Navy fought the silent and deadly Battle of the Atlantic to convey duty against German U-boats and a cruel sea.

But for Canada's soldiers in Britain, boredom was the main enemy. For most, the action was relaxed only when they went to war in Sicily and Italy in the summer of 1943, or the invasion of Normandy on June 6, 1944. "Most of the time it was a pretty dull existence," said Douglas Goble, 87, of Toronto, who spent three years in England in the Queen's York Rangers co-ordinating troop movements. In 1944, he was sent home to train as an infantry officer, but when he was ready, the war in Europe was almost over. Sent Goble: "There was a surplus of officers so I never got into the action." In all, 1,666,342 Canadian men and women served full time in the army, navy or air force. And 62,062 lost their lives.

Peak: In Canada, the war's impact was far-reaching. As in the First World War, soldiers returning from French and English were viewed by Quebec's opposition to conscription, which was finally introduced for overseas service in November, 1944. Canada's relations with the United States became closer. On Aug. 18, 1944, in Ogdensburg, N.Y., 16 months before the Americans joined the war, King and Roosevelt established a permanent joint committee on defence, Canada's first military pact with a country other than Britain. According to Cana-

dian historian Donald Critchlow, that commitment "effectively bound Canada to a military role against Germany." The United States and largely determined Canadian foreign policy for the next 30 years. "Canada-U.S. economic ties also strengthened rapidly, in part because Britain and the rest of Europe could no longer afford to purchase many Canadian exports."

The war brought prosperity to millions of Canadians. After a decade of economic depression, unemployment virtually disappeared. Canada's industrial capacity grew rapidly. The massive investments of public money required for the war effort—according to Greenstein and Morton, the federal government created at least 28 Crown corporations to produce everything from rubber to synthetic rubber—the set the stage for postwar investment in economic policies, including family allowance payments and subsidized housing. Hundreds of thousands of rural Canadians moved to the cities for high-paying factory jobs. They were joined after 1945 by an influx of refugees and immigrants from war-torn Europe, accelerating Canada's transformation into an urban, multicultural society.

Prosperity, combined with pride in the country's wartime achievements, gave postwar



King: "This is not our war."

Canada a stronger sense of national confidence and unprecedented status abroad. In 1947, then-Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson proposed an alliance to resist Soviet expansion—a proposal that led to the establishment in 1949 of NATO.

Test: A half-century after the outbreak of war in Europe, economic and political developments raise again challenges established assumptions in Canada about the world. The Soviet Union's less threatening posture under Mikhail Gorbachev, if it persists, could end the cold war and open the road for NATO. And while the unity of the European Community in Western Europe grows stronger, Canada's focus on trade and foreign relations is shifting away from Europe toward the United States and the Pacific Rim. Those developments point toward a further weakening of Canada's political and commercial ties with the new Europe—new Europe, there are enduring ties—both in the blood of kinship, and through the blood that Canadians spilled at war in Europe.

Gradually emerging from years of war and Cold War. But, for many people on both sides of the Atlantic, there are enduring ties—both in the blood of kinship, and through the blood that Canadians spilled at war in Europe.

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BACK TO BACK HOMERS.



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OPENS AUGUST 30TH



Some fought to save lives, and others stood as guards: members of No. 10 Canadian General Hospital. Royal Canadian Army Medical Corps, based at Arras, France, in July 1944, as the Allied breakout from the Normandy beachheads gained momentum, the tally of enemy explosives mounted—although sometimes out at a time, as a Canadian infantryman found at Virelles, France, on July 18, 1944.



THERE'S VODKA.



AND THEN THERE'S SMIRNOFF.



**Moscow war memorial:
historical exercise**

preservation of Berlin by West Germany as its attempt to seize Europe under a "new order" by force of arms.

On the visitors' side of the present European divide, many people remain skeptical about Moscow's motives, suspecting that the aim may be to link the West into a series of false security, separate Western Europe from its North American NATO allies and leave the Soviet Union as the dominant military power on the Continent. Still, in the Soviet Union, the impetus for a secure European peace

COVER

SECURING PEACE

THE CAMPAIGN TO STABILIZE EUROPE

A grass-roots campaign that killed his two brothers, sister and best childhood friend, Vadik Gorbatchev insists that he was quick to fight, but not to hate. Gorbatchev, then a 20-year-old army lieutenant, saw his first action four months after Germany's massive invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. Gorbatchev's advance units were less than 100 km from Moscow and Gorbatchev was carrying

back with him friend, Otar Makhitashvili, when he looked toward a sudden sound. When Gorbatchev turned back, Makhitashvili was dead from a sniper's bullet. Later, Gorbatchev's unit liberated a village where celebrating enemy troops had killed dozens of civilians. In the bloody battle of Stalingrad, which raged for five months from August, 1942, Gorbatchev was severely wounded from an exploding artillery shell. Gorbatchev's two brothers were killed in other battles, and his sister, a nurse, died in 1945 from wartime injuries. But as Gorbatchev and Soviet forces fought their way into Germany in 1945, he insists, "I did not hate—I understood the difference between ordinary Germans and their evil government."



Gorbatchev, Leonid: learning the value of human life

involvement with Berlin as a short-lived pact to partition Poland and secure the Baltic states, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is challenging historical conditions that have made eastern Europe a battleground in hot and cold wars for most of the century. Taking initiatives as disarmament, Gorbachev has promoted the prospect of a peaceful "common European home" from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains, which rise about 1,500 km beyond the desert,

provokes a powerful response as a population reeled with collective memories of siege and total war in the siege of Leningrad alone, which was finally breached after 900 days early in 1942, an estimated one million citizens died of starvation, cold, untreated illness and military assaults. On the road to Moscow's Sheremetyevo Airport, a huge spilled monument marks the closest point of the German advance on the capital—a place where women, children and even the old for military service held a ring of tank traps and other defenses at the beginning of the coldest Soviet winter in 1945 years. Said Gorbatchev: "There is no family that I know of that did not lose someone in the war."

Campaign: The most contentious element in the campaign for a united, unified Europe is the possibility that it might lead to a reunification of Germany. Indeed, Gorbachev pointedly expects an emotional call for reunification from Chancellor Helmut Kohl during a Kremlin banquet last October. Kohl, describing the division of Germany as "a disaster," declared that "the cohesion of the Germans is a historical and human reality which politics cannot ignore." He urged Gorbachev: "The current situation is a result of historical development. As it is up to us to open what has been created as the process or path on through serious policies it is indispensable and even dangerous business."

With that reservation against a unified Germany, even veteran Red Army professionals say that they welcome Gorbachev's new peace initiatives, including arms-reduction talks with the United States. Said Vladimir Boroditski, a retired colonel who was a 22-year-old major when he met American troops at Germany's Elbe River in 1945: "After that, I never believed Americans were enemies." Added Gorbatchev: "Those of us who have known war have learned the precious value of human life, it can teach that to the young, we will have accomplished one of our most important missions." For Soviets who survived the war, and for their counterparts on the other side of the European divide, the campaign for a peaceful Europe is the most important battle to be won.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Moscow

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COVER
**MOVES TO TRIM
THE U.S. ROLE**

AMERICAN TROOPS MAY LEAVE EUROPE

The Americans, Europe was a dangerous place of danger and despotism, of bitter enemies and enduring alliances among a collection of squabbling old countries. The Americans took the lead and they were the only ones. Since 1917, when American soldiers joined the Allies in the First World War, the Senate refused to

Europe—not because of isolationism, but because of the cost and because the Americans no longer seem as enthusiastic.

Sugar: President George Bush calls it "beyond outrageous"—his slogan for U.S. policy in a post-Cold War era. The President, like Ronald Reagan before him, has scrambled to respond to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's



American soldiers, civilians in Berlin, a scene that the Cold War has ended

ratify U.S. membership in the League of Nations, the peace negotiations shambled out by President Woodrow Wilson. And when Europe erupted in war again in 1939, the United States at first limited its involvement to supplying Britain with aircraft and aid ships. Only after Japanese bombers obliterated the U.S. Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7, 1941, did Congress declare war on Japan and join the struggle against the other Axis powers, Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. Since then, however, the U.S. commitment to Europe has been waning and constant. It evolved after the war into a policy of containing the Communist threat through economic aid and the combined military muscle of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, now 16 nations strong. It is a commitment that has lasted more than four decades but that, now, could be undergoing a significant change: a reduction of the U.S. military role as

sera reduction initiatives and democratic reforms. Meanwhile, the annual cost of maintaining the U.S. military presence in Europe is a staggering \$120 billion. In May, Bush announced that he would withdraw 36,000 U.S. troops from Europe if the Soviets pull back 325,000 troops, leaving each with 275,000 troops in Europe. Some analysts see that as the beginning of a process leading to U.S. withdrawal from Europe. "If things proceed as they appear to be," said Jay Rosenzweig, an analyst at the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank based in Washington, D.C., "it is quite possible that over the next century a new European order will develop. Europe could become whole and free, and the United States could return to the role of a traditional peripheral power."

Washington was far out on the periphery—and accustomed to centrality—at 1939. But as

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COVER

The German marched triumphantly across Europe. The United States agreed in June, 1941, to sell millions of dollars worth of arms and aircraft to Britain. And, as September, it sold 99 aging destroyers to London in exchange for 99-year leases on air and naval bases in three British colonies, including the Argentine base at Newfoundland. The next year, Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act, which allowed the President to lend arms to the allies—an \$4-billion program that grew to \$55 billion by war's end. When U.S. airplanes entered the fighting, they played prominent roles, with Gen. Douglas MacArthur commanding Allied forces in Europe for the Normandy invasion on June 6, 1944, and total victory 11 months later. In all, 280,000 Americans were killed in the Second World War. Isolationism disappeared.

Power In the postwar era, the United States accepted the role as a world power with a special interest in Europe. In July, 1945—less than a month before the Japanese surrender—the Senate, which 26 years earlier had refused to join the League, overwhelmingly ratified the charter of the United Nations. As Moscow established control over Eastern Europe, President Harry Truman launched a far-reaching policy—containment—in May, 1947. Fearing aid to war-weakened Greece and Soviet threatened Turkey, he vowed to help "free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." In June, Washington unveiled the Marshall Plan, named for Secretary of State George C. Marshall, under which it gave enormous economic aid to help Europe recover. And in April, 1949, the United States joined with 11 other nations to form NATO, its first peacetime strategic alliance with European powers.

Now, if the momentum toward disarmament proceeds, Europe will be without the dominating presence of the U.S. superpower. Washington pays more toward NATO's \$500-billion annual cost than the other 15 members combined. U.S. officials personally lead the Supreme Allied Commanders for Europe and the Atlantic, the two highest NATO military posts, and the 276 U.S. military bases in Europe—look behind to Greece—serve not only for defense but also in training posts and relieving strains.

Presence But the easing of East-West tensions—and the hard reality of the U.S. budget deficit—have led Bush to talk openly of reducing that presence. Many Europeans plainly welcome the prospect. "Not so long ago, my wingtip of a withdrawal of U.S. troops brought shivers from Europe," said Jeffrey Record, a defense analyst at Washington's Georgetown University Institute. "But this time, when Bush said he was prepared to pull out 30,000 men, nobody panicked. There is a sense in Europe that the Cold War is over and that the actual consequence should be a significant reduction in the U.S. troop presence." If that happens, the U.S. role in Europe could begin to move full-circle, from a shield to a conflict dampener.

BOB LARSEN with WILLIAM LOFTICE in Washington

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COVER

AFTER THE HOLOCAUST

A JEWISH COMMUNITY WITHERS AWAY

When medieval flowers bloom among the graves and soft summer sun carpets the riverbank streets, it is Bielunow. Sandomierz's favorite time of year. From the office in a converted shed at the entrance of Warsaw's Obokow Street Jewish Cemetery, Sandomierz, the cemetery's director and only full-time employee, offers him pleasant and hazy morning among the 300,000 burial plots. "In here," says Sandomierz, with a wave at the cemetery's 75 acres, "the birds and animals are at home, because few people enter cemeteries and disturb them." Sometimes on Tuesdays, when a weekly flight from Israel arrives, as many as 50 people visit family graves that for the rest of the week, says the 35-year-old Sandomierz, "Others, from the time I arrive in the morning until I lock up at night, I am alone." That is a familiar experience among Polish Jews, for whom death and solitude have been familiar companions.

Slaughter: Fifty years after Germany's invasion of Poland set off the Second World War and led to the Holocaust, the country's 10-year-old Jewish community is almost extinct. Despite some gestures by the Polish government to atone for past anti-Semitism, few Jews are optimistic about their future. They say that fewer than 7,000 of them remain from a community that, before the war—and the slaughter of roughly three million Polish Jews at the Holocaust—numbered about 3.5 million. Most are past retirement age and grudgingly enter the country's survival is threatened. Said Seymour Laskov, a 67-year-old member of Warsaw's only synagogue: "There is a very strong possibility that Poland will become a country without Jews."

The descendants of Polish Jewry's decline are staggering. The city of Lublin, once renowned for the intellectual rigor of its 60,000 prewar

Jewish residents, now holds the 15,000 Jewish men required to form a ghetto, a walled-in Jewish enclave. In Warsaw, where 200,000 Jews lived on the eve of the war—nearly half of the capital's population—fewer than four dozen people, mostly men in their 50s and 70s, regularly attend Sabbath services at the Niszybystrzycki Synagogue.

are asked to face trouble because of him."

That tradition reflects Poland's history of public anti-Semitism. A latter argument persists over allegations that the Polish underground delinquent to assist Jews during a 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising. And for many postwar years, the Communist government shunned and even appeared to encourage anti-Semitism. In 1968, after incidents of anti-Jewish violence, a wave of beatings and the destruction of Jews from government jobs, at least 20,000 Jews fled to Israel and other countries, including Canada. Since Polish suspicion that worldwide attention focused on Jewish suffering in their country obscures the fact that the entire population suffered—most that about three million gentile Poles were slaughtered during the occupation. A current dispute centers on the breakdown of a 1947 agreement between Jewish leaders and the Roman Catholic Church to replace a five-year-old convent with a center for Jewish-Christian dialogue at Auschwitz, where five million people, most of them Jews, were exterminated.

Brutality: In recent years, Warsaw Jews say, the government has tried to repair relations. A key step was the restoration and reopening in 1988 of the Niszybystrzycki Synagogue, which had been used by the Nazis as a stable. The Warsaw Ghetto now largely consists of decrepit postwar apartment buildings. But, as part of an educational program, thousands of schoolchildren regularly visit a marble monument in a park on Zamosc's Street, the center of the old ghetto. Elsewhere, the government maintains memorials of brutality committed there. At Majdanek camp, 200 km southeast of Warsaw, the most poignant exhibits are three sheds filled with 800,000 prisoners' hats and shoes taken from their bodies.

Some who escaped the massacres say that



Warsaw Ghetto memorial: death and solitude are timeless companions

gogon. Kaja Winczewska, a 27-year-old member of a Jewish cultural circle that meets weekly, and that members boast of only 25 people under 40 in Warsaw—a city of 1.7 million—who "are willing to be known as Jews." The group has loyal stems with Jewish roots, but, she said, "They either don't care about God or

notions of religion. They are simply to having fun."

decisions passed before they would acknowledge their Jewishness publicly. Evidently even at the Sobibor Synagogue sometimes tightly locked among themselves were such matters. One man in his 70s, who says that he survived by posing as a Roman Catholic, is reviled by other Jews. For his part, he denounces those who fled to the Soviet Union during the war, saying, "They were not here, why have no right to speak."

Culture: The arguments over wartime experiences provide occasional cohesion among younger Jews. Some of them say that debate over the community's wartime treatment should be set aside and more attention should be paid to the future. Those profits, themselves often surrounded by emptying schools their community, express doubts about the survival of Jewish institutions in Poland. Ongoing divisions among synagogue leaders, one man in his 30s observed, "Sometimes I think that the worst enemy of the Jews here today is ourselves." But others work actively to foster the Jewish culture and a legacy of contributions in such fields as health, science and literature. Nosed Kaja Wencowak, who said that the soldiers mistreat a session of her cultural discussion group. "Some day, I will visit my children but understand the pride they should have in being a Polish Jew. We are a part of history that should never allow."

That sense of history is perhaps most alive at



German soldiers rounding up people in the Warsaw Ghetto; three million Polish Jews perished

the Chopin Street cemetery, a 200-year-old monument to accomplishments that is one of the few Jewish landmarks left unharmed by the Nazis. Among those who honor are Edward Pleban, a founder of sociology, and Henryk Goldkorn, a writer of children's books under the pen name Janusz Korczak who, in 1942, rejected efforts by others to help him escape and chose to go in the gas chamber alongside the condemned children from an orphanage that he had founded. To the man who reads the cemetery—and who arranges a final resting place for about a dozen American expatriates

sent home each year—every grave represents an irreplaceable symbol of the community's strength. Bolelaw Bocmor, who identified the site of the cemetery from his father and grandfather, has rejected the possibility of placing an emigrant brother in Israel. "I cannot leave here," he says. "Who, then, would bury the rest of the Jews?" To a vibrant community recently reinvigorated by history, the gravekeeper's words raise an even more solemn question over its very capacity to endure.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Rome

'YOU COULD TELL THE FAMILIES'

Early on Aug. 15, 1942, during a tour of German-occupied Poland, Kurt Gerstein, then 37 and chief of the Nazi or German Disinfection Service, noted Belzec concentration camp, southeast of Lublin. He witnessed the arrival of a trainload of more than 6,000 Jews from the Ukraine. As Gerstein later recounted during a 1943 Allied war-crimes interrogation, the first 700 to 800 passengers were ordered to strip naked and, with assurances that they were to be disinfected, were sent to a few wooden stalls into a room that contained less than 25 feet by 25 feet. Then, he says, that was to pump carbon monoxide against the walls labeled to start. "The dead began to appear after two hours and 40 minutes by my stopwatch," Gerstein related. "All were dead after 22 minutes." Afterward, he said, "even in death, you

could tell the families, if holding hands. It was difficult to separate them while waiting the room for the next batch."

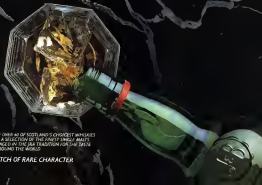
That tragic scene, described in Gerstein's memoirs, Martin Gilbert's 2006 book *The Holocaust*, was only a small part of the genocide that was leveled against Jews in Europe. The roots of that war-ravaged devastation were in centuries of superstition, religious hatred and commercial hostility. Its modern origins lay in a search for scapegoats after Germany's defeat in the First World War. Within a year of the defeat, about 60 embittered men, accusing German Jews of collaborating in Germany's humiliation, founded what soon became the Nazi party. Its 25-point program, published in Munich on Feb. 24, 1920, proclaimed, "None but those of German blood, whatever their creed, may be members of the German nation. No Jew, therefore, may be a member of the nation." On the first day of 1933 in Berlin, a gang of brown-shirted Nazi storm troops murdered eight Jews. That began the killing as a "racial purity" campaign that, within 15 years, was also to bring violent death to millions of Slavs, about

500,000 Gypsies and tens of thousands of the physically or mentally weak, political dissidents and homosexuals.

But the primary victims, the people targeted as a perpetual program of extermination, were the Jews of Europe. Extermination in mass-murder camps began in Poland, as the camp Auschwitz had opened. Munich just 30 days after Adolf Hitler became Germany's leader on Jan. 30, 1933. Nine years later on Jan. 30, 1942, the senior government official at a Lebensborn conference in a suburban Berlin park as Warsaw, announced "the final solution of the Jewish problem." Mass murder in gas chambers had already begun at Poland at Chelmsko, "experimentally" with the pesticide Zyklon B at Auschwitz. It was soon to spread to a tight network of concentration camps—Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka, Majdanek and others. By the end, the Holocaust systematically destroyed two million Jews from 10 countries, more than two-thirds of continental Europe's Jewish population.



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Fishing in cool at Poole Cove, Nfld.; overfishing casts a dark cloud over the Atlantic fishery

BUSINESS

TANGLED NETS

Gordon Cummings, the intrepid 48-year-old president of National Sea Products Ltd., recalls that he felt the tension as soon as he entered the room. It was just before 5 p.m. on Aug. 17, and, only minutes before that, Nelson at Sea chairman William Menzies had summoned him to his executive office in the company's abandoned headquarters overlooking Halifax Harbor. Cummings had always had a friendly, relaxed relationship with Menzies and with the other guys in the room—Derek Hemminger, a Halifax stockbroker who masterminded the plan that kept National Sea out of bankruptcy in 1984. But, that Thursday the pair greeted Cummings with strained formality. As soon as Cummings was seated, Hemminger told him in flat, unemotional tones that he had "lost the confidence" of National Sea's board of directors. Then, Hemminger asked Cummings—whose name had returned only two years ago in the ruling group of the Canadian fishing industry—to resign. "I was shocked," Cummings

THE EAST COAST FISH INDUSTRY IS SUFFERING AS CATCHES SHRINK AND PLANT CLOSINGS SPREAD

told *Maclean's* last week. "I honestly had no idea this was coming."

The resignation of Cummings, a blue-eyed, six-foot Montrealer, came after five years at the helm of National Sea's largest wholly owned company. And his ouster was also harsh evidence of the deepening crisis being the \$3-billion East Coast fishing industry. Stocks of

cod, haddock and other fish, which have drawn fishermen to the North Atlantic for centuries, have fallen to alarmingly low levels. Declining fish catches have already triggered plant closures and job losses across Canada's poorest regions. At the same time, competition for the dwindling stocks is fueling a growing international conflict. Overall, the outlook is so bleak that, last week, Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells travelled to Ottawa to plead for federal aid to ease the loss of 3,000 fishing jobs in the province alone, resulting from declining fish stocks and reduced quotas. Concluded Victor Young, 64, chief executive officer of St. John's-based Fishery Products International Ltd. (FPI): "The situation for the Atlantic fishery has never been more worrisome."

Still, Atlantic fishermen have navigated through rough waters before. During the 1970s, the industry overextended its appetite of large profits expected when Canada mirrored its coastal fishing boom in 1977 to 200 million tons from 12 million. Instead, fish prices

dropped as interest rates rose, and the entire eastern fishery collapsed and had to be rescued by the federal government in 1984. The restructuring resulted in the formation of two supercompanies—National Sea and FPI—from the remains of several smaller companies.

Although the industry is losing now, the outlook actually worked, and the Atlantic fishery went through a rapid turnover. A Chesapeake-based dealer and a growing U.S. appetite for high-quality Canadian fish chronically increased exports and earnings. Just as important was the deal struck with which National Sea's Cummings and FPI's Young played their companies back to profitability. But last week, Cummings, the father of two children with his wife Barbara, was at his two-story, 4,000-square-foot home in the Halifax suburb of Bedford, making and receiving phone calls. "I have a few bad-asses on my job," said Cummings. "If a lot of people have phoned to express their sympathy," Cummings has yet to reach a settlement with National Sea and says he hopes he can avoid going to court over the issue.

But, like Cummings, the eastern industry is now being pulled by turbulent seas. The problem is that Atlantic waters are simply running out of fish. Each year since 1984, Ottawa has tried to stabilize fish stocks by reducing the

quotas on various species, and the entire eastern fishery collapsed and had to be rescued by the federal government in 1984. The restructuring resulted in the formation of two supercompanies—National Sea and FPI—from the remains of several smaller companies. Although the industry is losing now, the outlook actually worked, and the Atlantic fishery went through a rapid turnover. A Chesapeake-based dealer and a growing U.S. appetite for high-quality Canadian fish chronically increased exports and earnings. Just as important was the deal struck with which National Sea's Cummings and FPI's Young played their companies back to profitability. But last week, Cummings, the father of two children with his wife Barbara, was at his two-story, 4,000-square-foot home in the Halifax suburb of Bedford, making and receiving phone calls. "I have a few bad-asses on my job," said Cummings. "If a lot of people have phoned to express their sympathy," Cummings has yet to reach a settlement with National Sea and says he hopes he can avoid going to court over the issue.

At the same time, declining Atlantic fish stocks and overfishing are also causing international friction. Earlier this month, a Canadian fisheries patrol boat requested permission from Iceland's coast guard to stop the ship, which is a U.S. semi-automatically fishing vessel in Canadian waters off Nova Scotia. Earlier this month, at a highly contentious session, Canada only reluctantly agreed to allow French fishermen from the French islands of St-Pierre-Miquelon to maintain their and continue in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. And Newfoundland fishermen continue to blame the 78 fishing boats from Spain and Portugal, which work at the edge of Canada's 200-mile limit, for the overfishing of cod and other species on the resource-rich Grand Banks.

Despite the general turmoil in the industry, Cummings still maintains that he does not know his end game for his company. After 13 years with management consultants Woods Gordon, Cummings, an accountant by training, was brought in to help restructure National Sea in 1984 and accepted the chief executive's post a year later. During his four-year tenure, he succeeded on an aggressive—and expensive—expansion into South America, the continental United States, British Columbia and Europe. When contacted by *Maclean's* last week, National Sea officials declined to give non-allowable catch. Even so, Canadian government scientists shocked the industry earlier this year when they reported that overfishing had reduced the northern cod stocks—the backbone of the industry—to far lower levels than the government previously thought.

Fisheries Minister Thomas Siddons agreed to cut quotas by 12 per cent—to 235,000 tons from 268,000 tons annually—rather than by the 23 per cent that industry was had recommended. But even that smaller cut dented the industry to take drastic steps, including buying fish

Business Notes

ACCOUNTING FIRMS MERGE

Two large accountancy firms agreed to merge into the country's largest provider of auditing, tax and consulting services. Toronto-based Thomas Ernst & Winney and First Merck and Co. had proposed the new company, First Merck Thomas, will have offices in 61 cities across the country, with 280 partners and 8,800 staff members.

STENOGRAPHS BATTLE INGS

Steno Inc., a Montreal shipping company and the owner of ship of the line *de Québec*, which manages the province's \$32 billion in pension funds, is reportedly led \$1.33 billion for Steno Inc., the Montreal-based grocery retailer *Ordon* Investments Inc., which a merger of Toronto-based companies in December 1987 to buy Steno Inc. backed out of effort to buy a last-ditch bid to buy the Steno Inc. and *Ordon* Inc.

PETRO-CANADA CUTS JOBS

Petro-Canada, the Calgary-based Crown-owned oil company, will lay off 1,304 people as the company to reduce its operating budget, company spokesman Steve O'Brien said.

VIA PROFITS JUMP

Banked Via Rail's earnings rose by 33.6 per cent in the first half of 1989, while the number of passengers it carried increased by only four per cent to 2.26 million. A Via financial report said that the Crown corporation, which is threatened by deep cuts in federal subsidies that it receives, carried 131.4 million in the first six months of this year, up from 129.3 million a year earlier.

HOLIDAY CORP. SOLD

Holiday Corp. bought assets from North America for its 1,400 Holiday Inns, was sold to British-based group B&W PLC for \$2.62 billion. The announcement marked the end of Holiday's long position as owner of the dominant U.S. hotel chain, a status that has led the company to describe itself as "America's hotelkeeper."

FALCONBERG TIPS ITS HAND

The board of directors of Falconbridge Ltd. is now recommending that shareholders accept a \$35.40-a-share bid from senior executives of Falconbridge Mines Ltd. to take over the mining company. Falconbridge also withdrew an earlier recommendation that shareholders accept a \$36.12-a-share offer from U.S.-based assets. The Falconbridge president, William Adams, said that a better offer is made, the board will consider it.



Cummings: A loss of confidence in performance

allowable catch. Even so, Canadian government scientists shocked the industry earlier this year when they reported that overfishing had reduced the northern cod stocks—the backbone of the industry—to far lower levels than the government previously thought.

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DeMont with Roushinsky

assets for the firm. Cummings himself could only speculate that the last two company board meetings indicated that directors were not pleased with the performance of some recent acquisitions. "It looks like I just got tired," he said. One thing that appears certain: Cummings will not be the last casualty as the Atlantic fishery tries to navigate through the raging sea ahead.

JOHN DEMONT with RUSSELL ROUSHINSKY
in St. John's



Hollow accusations from a Holy Ghost

BY PETER C. NORMAN

During his three exciting decades in Canadian politics, Erik Nielsen has nurtured the prerogatives of a fundamentalist preacher: one who believes that no one else has it as well and must achieve forgiveness. That air of aggrieved righteousness pervades his memoirs, *The House is Not a House*, published last week.

Nielsen's leading pretence was in the post felt mainly to the House of Commons, which he treated as a courtroom to advance his daily liturgy against the Liberals and all their works. But this time, Nielsen's target is not as much the hated Grits as his own leader, Brian Mulroney.

Nielsen seems to believe that he is the Holy Ghost of Canadian conservatism, rather to account the political battles and earnest partisan intrigues following suit another at the troughs of patronage. The charge is valid enough, since during their first three years in office the Tories shamelessly approved their efforts to government jobs—following the Liberal message of the preceding two decades. But the accusations ring hollow, because the chief suspect of that process—said its main beneficiary—was none other than the retroactively outraged chief, Erik Nielsen.

Nielsen portrays himself as Mulroney come down from the peak of the midnight sun to stay the fringes of a patronage, political hypocrisy and all-around-peddling wherever it found them. Nothing pleased him more than when Mulroney, during the great TV debate with John Turner on July 25, 1984, pointed out to the Liberal leader that he had an option on patronage and that the Tories would, as Nielsen's words, "in a more responsible administration." This was "more" to Nielsen's ears but he was soon disillusioned—"the last flicker of my idealism was quietly snuffed out." More is anger than in sorrow. He voices the telling accusation: "I had thought we were going to clean up patronage and be all, but for some people, it was clear that the extent was simply to clean up."

Patronage's chief animator—and its main beneficiary—was none other than its retroactively outraged critic, Erik Nielsen

How sad. But the patronage nomination was even worse than Nielsen would have us believe. A full two months before that memorable TV debate, on May 25, 1984, it was none other than Nielsen himself who established an Appointment Advisory Committee, recommending the immediate resignation "in the strongest possible" of potential claimants to bring forward patronage candidates. At the time, Nielsen called for the dismissal of 11 serving federal deputy ministers and the firing of six politicians. Seven weeks later—and 12 days before the debate—Nielsen sent out confirming letters to provincial advisory committee chairmen, urging them to start reading up suitable party appointees.

When those committees, which became the operating apparatus of the Mulroney government's patronage process, began their working meetings in Ottawa on Nov. 6, 1984, it was under Nielsen's chairmanship. The minutes of each meeting record Nielsen's partisan single-mindedness, proposing "they candidates for the International Joint Commission (Nov. 8), the Export Development Corp. (Nov. 16), Petro-Canada and World Bank headquarters (Nov. 20), and so on."

Not only was Nielsen the pivotal influence in

the Turner's patronage network, when it came time for him to leave politics, he claimed the incident grew for himself. After serving briefly with the then of having himself named Canadian ambassador to the United States, he asked for and was given the presidency of the Canadian Transport Commission, his title later being changed to chairman of the National Transportation Agency (NTA). The five-year appointment pays Nielsen a salary of \$143,000 as well as fringe benefits which the Public Service Commission estimates are worth another 25 per cent on top of the base salary. In Nielsen's case, however, the rest to Canadian taxpayers is much higher. The NTA headquarters are in the Terrasses de la Chaudière complex in Hull, a few minutes from downtown Ottawa, and include a luxurious suite of offices for the chairman for which the government pays \$550,490 in annual rent. Even though his perks include a private limousine and chauffeur, Nielsen has never scored into his own headquarters, insisting that the government rent for him a private suite of offices at Plaza Place in downtown Ottawa, at an extra cost of \$25,000 per year.

Not counting the extra office costs, the transport agency paid a month at least \$900,000 to Nielsen, in addition to his \$40,000 annual MP's pension and the new MP's pension he is building up at the same time. The appointment has always been Dennis's modest patronage plan. It was the same way that Lester B. Pearson granted his most loyal lieutenant, Jack Pickersley, and Pierre Trudeau gave his closest political ally, Jean Marchand—although Marchand and Pickersley had both at least been ministers of transport, at their leave a little bit about the subject. (Marchand had been named from the Senate to take the job—their how fortunate it is.)

Despite its privileges and rewards, this is the patronage appointment Nielsen first wanted. He asked to be named chief justice of the Yukon, but when then-Senator Nielsen's personal Hydroplan wanted out the Canadian Bar Association's judicial appointments panel, they turned Nielsen down—only as being unqualified. There was a noticeable contradiction over the issue when Nielsen himself testified for the first time when he was asked "The Grits said, 'Erik, the justice minister pleaded, "don't let anybody patronage you're talking about, this is the political process"."

Although Nielsen was never known as a politician of great accomplishment, he did have his reputation for being a very long-drawn-out man. He has exhibited leniency against outside attacks, and once declared (on March 1, 1980) in a confidential party memo: "As election with divided voices in our own ranks as a betrayal [The critics] believe will not be forgiven or forgotten." Now, Nielsen's loyalty has turned to a vindictive so extreme that he has scheduled the publication date of his book to coincide with the party's annual meeting last week—although almost no political level-offers are ever published in August—to try to undermine Mulroney's leadership. Certainly, *The House is Not a House* will damage many reputations. But none more than its author's.

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SPACE

A final encounter

Voyager 2 sends its last, dramatic pictures

After speeding through space for 12 years, the U.S. spacecraft Voyager 2 last week had its final encounter with a planet in the outer solar system: *Neptune*. As in earlier flights past the planets *Jupiter*, *Saturn* and *Uranus*, its encounter in the vicinity of *Neptune*—2.8 billion miles from Earth—yielded spectacular results. Photographs and data transmitted over special radio links took four hours and six minutes to reach Earth. Some of the most dramatic observations concerned two newly discovered rings of debris surrounding *Neptune*. Voyager 2 also gave scientists a better look at the seas on *Neptune*, known as the "Great Dark Spot," which scientists say is caused by vast storms in the planet's atmosphere.

An experts analyzed the wealth of pictures from Voyager 2, the startling images of Triton, the largest of *Neptune's* eight moons, upstaged *Neptune's* starry. Triton is out of the blue moon in the solar system that is known to have a substantial atmosphere, and it appears to be

the only one that orbits at the opposite direction to its planet's rotation. Photographs of the pink-and-blue moon showed an unlike substance, which scientists speculated might be frozen gases. Said Edward Stone, a physicist at the California Institute of Technology who is the project's chief scientist: "It could not resist watching as each new image speeded up over basic revision."

Even if Voyager 2 had not sent back its abundance of revelations, its journey would have been a remarkable accomplishment. Launched from Cape Canaveral, Fla., in August, 1977, the space-probe ship flew past *Jupiter* in 1979 and *Saturn* in 1981. Then scientists took advantage of a rare alignment. By using *Saturn's* gravitational pull, controllers aimed the ship at *Uranus*, which it passed in 1986, and sent it on to *Neptune*. Voyager 2 passed within 3,000 miles of *Neptune's*

Neptune: the Great Dark Spot—most likely caused by vast storms—as seen from 3.2 million miles away

near the north polar region. Now, the rugged encounter speeded up into deep space where—a dream—it could continue to travel for billions of years. Scientists speculated that a single encounter would send it, but not pictures, for the next 100 years. Said Stone: "Voyager has exceeded all expectations." Meanwhile, on Earth, the triumph of Voyager 2 have played an important role in expanding man's understanding of his universe.

BARBARA FICKENS with ANN GREGG in Pasadena, Calif.



Triton: images upstage Neptune

"Why can't I go to school?"

Right now, Paolo should be in school. But he is not. The school in his village requires all students to wear uniforms... and pay fees. Paolo's family can't afford it. Neither can their neighbours, or the families down the road. In the developing world, education is valued beyond belief, and sadly, beyond affordability. The hope of progress and improvement it offers is just another impossible dream.

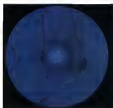
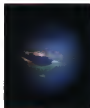
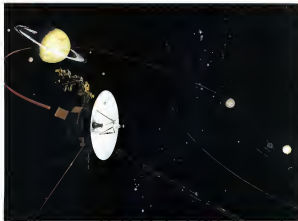
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I can't become a Foster Parent right now. However, I would like my contribution of \$ <input type="checkbox"/> Please send me more information <input type="checkbox"/> Tel. No. <input type="checkbox"/>		Mr <input type="checkbox"/> Mrs <input type="checkbox"/> Miss <input type="checkbox"/>	
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The Voyager 2 saga (clockwise from top): solar-system view of spacecraft showing TV camera boom (top), long boom containing magnetic field detectors, and shorter radio antenna; lift-off from Cape Canaveral, Fla., aboard Titan/Centaur-2 on Aug. 30, 1977; Neptune's south pole seen from 18.6 million miles away; Neptune's cloud structure; after 12 years speeding through space, the unmanned satellite still yielded spectacular images



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MEDICINE

Fighting heredity

Doctors identify the cystic fibrosis gene

Cystic fibrosis is among the most common of all hereditary diseases, and now as every 2,000 Canadian children is born with it. Half of those affected believe they are 35 and few survive beyond their 30s. It is not only deadly, it is undetectable: thick, sticky mucus constantly clogs the vital air passages in the lungs, the ducts of the liver and pancreas and the intestines, making victims susceptible to lung infections and severe digestive problems. For decades, scientists have known that CF was caused by defective genes, one from each parent, but they did not know which genes. Then, last week, scientists at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children, with the help of colleagues at University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, announced that they had identified the gene.

The Toronto team was composed of geneticists Leo Chao-Tin, Jack Kesteven and Michael Bachinski, who had been studying CF for eight years. Said Kesteven: "It wasn't until March of this year that we really started getting excited about our research. Our confidence grew progressively, and we were finally relieved that our findings didn't fall apart on us." The discovery, said Leon Semiovich, research director of Toronto's Mount Sinai Hospital Research Institute, was an achievement of staggering complexity. Another researcher said that locating the CF gene, by complicated tracking techniques employed in molecular biology, could be compared to a "hailstorm" of genes, guided only by occasional radio signals, landing safely where he wanted. He also offered a discount of 100,000 articles.

The result of the years of work was praise from excited researchers on both coasts. Ronald Wurtman, chief geneticist at Sick Children's, called the finding "one of the most significant discoveries in the history of human genetics." Added a prominent Canadian geneticist, who asked that his name be withheld: "There's a Nobel Prize in this." University of Michigan researcher Francis Collins, who headed the team that collaborated with the Toronto investigators, said that the achievement "is a real sense of hope" that science would be able to identify the genes implicated in about 4,000 other genetic diseases, including some forms of cancer. Semiovich described the discovery as "enormous," adding, "It's obvious that if we can now identify the gene implicated in the disease, we have made a pretty large step toward prevention."

It might take as little as two years, said Semiovich, to organize large-scale, readily available screening programs to determine

whether prospective parents carry the defective gene that causes CF. If they did, the couples could either decide not to have children or to go ahead and, if the fetus were found to have inherited the gene, have an early abortion. The next step for researchers was, Semiovich added, to identify the cell proteins associated with the misbegotten gene. When that is accomplished—perhaps in the next few years, he said—"we can start looking at some way to counteract that protein and come up with a treatment for people who already have the disease." Said Kesteven: "Drugs will be developed on the basis of our newfound knowledge. In the long run, identifying the gene is an important step



That staggering complexity

toward the goal of finding a cure for the disease." At present, CF patients are treated with a variety of drugs.

One person in every 20 carries the CF gene, but most do not contract the disease because a normal copy of the gene dominates a defective copy. If both parents have the CF gene, there is a 25-per-cent chance their children will inherit the disease. But a child will eventually be born with CF if both parents transmit the defective gene. Unfortunately, involvement of both parents can be established only by tests done after the disease is diagnosed in a child. If only one parent has the CF gene, a child will not be affected—but there is a 50-per-cent chance that it will become a carrier.

A \$2.5-million grant from the Canadian Cystic Fibrosis Foundation helped pay for research based at Sick Children's. The results of the team's work will be published on Sept. 8 in *Science*, the journal of the Washington, D.C.-based American Association for the Advancement of Science. But for thousands of Canadian parents and their CF-stricken children, the news offered hope of escaping what has been up until now a devastatingly predictable future.

KAR CORELLI

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you have
guessed
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TELEVISION

The show moves on

MuchMusic and TSN bid for new viewers

The style of their headquarters reflects the two TV channels' personalities. MuchMusic's offices are renovated and devoted to popular music. MuchMusic's offices are renovated and devoted to popular music. MuchMusic's offices are renovated and devoted to popular music.



Zimmerman, Lorenne, Martin: a big impact on music and sport

MuchMusic was the brainchild of Martin and Moises Zimmerman, president and executive producer of the channel. Zimmerman holds the same position at Toronto's CITY TV, which is leased

to the same building; both MuchMusic and CITY TV are owned by Toronto's CROM Ltd. Since MuchMusic's launch in 1984, it has retained its edge of unique vision while evolving to offer news, concerts and special segments in reality, heavy-metal and soul music—as well as interviews with major rock stars. That formula of live shows—delivered by hosts such as Jagger Zimmerman, who took over as they have been replaced by a new television—has steadily increased the number of viewers while adding no pay TV member, subscription to Much-

Music's subscriber to 13 million households in August, 1986 from 350,000 in 1984. Despite its coverage, Zimmerman attributes the channel's success to its "mixed ethnicity." "I feel Zimmerman: "We believe TV is not necessarily something that comes out of an expensive, hard-wired studio but in which everything is artificially manufactured from real life."

MuchMusic's emphasis on Canadian artists has had a profound impact on the domestic pop-music industry. In line with Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission regulations and its own philosophy, about 25 per cent of the videos feature Canadian artists—and the channel's early exposure of such Canadian performers as L.D. Long, John Doheny and Kevin Adams boosted their careers. Saul Miller May, a partner in Gagliardi

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Attn: a management company whose clients include the Vancouver rock band 54-66 "MacMusic has been the number 1 promoter for beats like 54-66." He added, "In this country, where a few people are spread out across a large geographical area, MacMusic is one of the connecting factors for music fans." The channel has also stimulated the domestic video production industry in addition to playing Canadian videos. MacMusic derives five per cent of its gross revenues (\$260,000) in the current fiscal year in its VideoFACT division, which helps developing Canadian artists to get videos produced. And Toronto video direc-

tor Don Allen "MacMusic has opened a new industry in Canada and given a good grounding to people who want to learn film making." Supplied with relatively cheap programs—many—the second components initially made videos available for free and now charge only a nominal fee—MacMusic made a modest profit in the first year, 1989—in keeping with the expensive nature of sports coverage—achieved its projected break-even point in its third year and made profits in the next two. And the signs of its success are evident: it paid \$5 million to become an affiliated Skyburn partner and in May it opened Stone Productions, a \$15-million studio at the same site.

The only such facility to be located in a studio, it features everything from computer animation equipment to a cappuccino bar. The channel has covered more than 12 professional and amateur sports, ranging from men's basketball to curling and moose-truck racing—and soon itself as a complementary service to the major networks. Said Craig "Connecticut networks have so many different considerations to serve that they really can't add to their sports coverage." It now broadcasts 50 games of the Toronto Blue Jays, 40 of the Montreal Expos and 40 regular NHL games a year, as well as splitting the first-round NHL playoffs with the CBC. Meanwhile, the channel's viewers attribute its Canadian participation in international events. With more than 50 per cent Canadian content, TSN has boosted the stage of college-level and lesser-known but popular sports such as rowing. In 1988, it provided the first live national coverage in 55 years of the Royal Canadian Henley Regatta. Said Hank Loney, general manager of Rowing Canada-Aronia, the association that organizes Canada's 65 rowing clubs: "It's a sport like ours where we're always trying to raise our profile, that's very important."

Expectations, as much as profits, will be raised this year as more than five million cable customers click their remote-control buttons to watch live two channels on the regular bouquet deal. And as the disarmed sports lovers note, the people at TSN and MacMusic will be banking on some positive feedback from their new customers.

DAVID TURBIDE with RICK JENNINGS and
FURELIA TONG in Toronto

MAGLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

FANTASY

- 1 The Broken Heart, C. C. (1)
- 2 The Neglected, F. J. (2)
- 3 The Silent (1)
- 4 A Prayer for Queen Mary, F. J. (2)
- 5 The Silent, C. C. (1)
- 6 A Time to Die, F. J. (2)
- 7 The Silent, F. J. (2)
- 8 The Silent, F. J. (2)
- 9 The Silent, F. J. (2)
- 10 The Silent, F. J. (2)
- 11 The Silent, F. J. (2)
- 12 The Silent, F. J. (2)

NOVELS

- 1 A Woman Named Julia, F. J. (2)
- 2 A Brief History of Time, S. (1)
- 3 Love and Marriage, C. C. (1)
- 4 The Silent, F. J. (2)
- 5 The Silent, F. J. (2)
- 6 The Silent, F. J. (2)
- 7 The Silent, F. J. (2)
- 8 The Silent, F. J. (2)
- 9 The Silent, F. J. (2)
- 10 The Silent, F. J. (2)
- 11 The Silent, F. J. (2)
- 12 The Silent, F. J. (2)

(1) Fantasy has won
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The PM's black, travelling cloud

BY STEWART McLEOD

Just as John Turner had the secrets to roll for the secrets of an image consultant, who, among other things, concealed his atrocious speaking style, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney should think about hiring perfectionist-second chances.

No, we're not talking about routine non-lexical agents. What our Prime Minister needs is a technical team of travel specialists, some with political power, some with common sense, some with sixth sense, to lead him when it's time to leave Canada and how to perform in foreign soils.

So far, Mulroney is like a first vintage Bragony wine, the kind which inspires connoisseurs to say "tastes" before offering such analytical assessments as "imperialistic bouquet," "imperialistic aftertaste" and "imperialistic for political parties."

Sorry for that early diagnosis. But it's a roadshow tour of saying that the Prime Minister, like any great wine, doesn't usually travel well. And it's a great pity because, from the days when Mulroney King first stepped down the gangplank from the Empress of Australia, foreign travel for prime ministers has always been a public relations business.

They travel abroad to escape the political heat of home, they want to be greeted as red carpets by heads of state, to be photographed with the Queen, the Pope, the New Zealand Dairy Process. Their glowing hosts would tell Canadian TV viewers that this had been not only "travelling, friendly and fruitful"—they're always that—but also "diplomatic."

Great for the folks back home. Their prime minister was knocking 'em dead while seeing the United Nations, the British monarchy and the old Vatican temple. Quick, make one occasion when a Canadian prime minister was ever remotely celebrated on foreign soil.

Okay, if you want to be party, we can go back

The Prime Minister, like any great wine, does not usually travel well. And that is a great shame

30 years and recall the time John Diefenbaker took his brother on a trip to Australia, where Field Marshal William Slim was given rise generally. "Hello there," said Vincent Slim, as he extended a stiff hand to an unfamiliar Canadian. "I am Slim."

"Hi, Slim," was the friendly reply. "I am Slim." That we're told, was said.

But, honestly, those trips have been part gold.

Gladly, that is, until Brian Mulroney came along. And it's his brother to add that it hasn't always been his fault. Perhaps it seldom has.

True, the guy doesn't have a comfortable stage presence, and his sense don't seem to know what to do when he walks. He also has a disconcerting habit of pointing at nothing. He seems to be looking on photographs, even when he's not. But these are merely incidental performance-control problems.

Diefenbaker had an almost rigid presence, Lester Pearson, with his innate modesty, wouldn't be worried of having as if he were by parachute. Pierre Trudeau could slide down marshall's banners and say five new religions. As prime minister, Joe Clark never had a problem—he probably got it out of his system when he was dodging stationary Canadian key-

words in opposition leader during his over-reported Atom tour of 1979. John Turner wasn't in office long enough to get a new passport.

No, the travels of prime ministerial travel started with B. Mulroney. Joe Stoppin's black cloud had to go somewhere.

Now, if we go back to 1986, no one could have predicted that, as our Prime Minister was exploring the far reaches of Asia, the Soviet-Soviet affair was going to splinter all over Parliament. And, right after night, when the national news should have been showing a laughing Brian, sitting cross-legged sipping nondescript sake, he was being hallooed about looking Steven out of cabinet. He could have had that craft back home.

Another thing: back in simpler times, travelling Canadian reporters wouldn't have known what to ask the prime minister about domestic affairs. But now, we've got only those distant, icy reporters, there's a new breed of quack-and-correct correspondents who stay up all night, with Perrier, waiting for their cellular phones to ring. They need to party.

It's a lightning new system came into play again earlier this year in Scotland, when the Prime Minister wasn't allowed to concentrate on the dog-and-cause boulder, or back in the glories of Canadian foreign aid. No this time, the crowd crowd was back at it again, demanding to know all about the budget leaks, or, if you prefer, the Wilson negotiations.

This was the Paris extravaganza, and we'll probably never know what meetings, if any, were scheduled attended or cancelled. But the media corporate about them didn't help. Because that, of course, there was the British audience, provided by the unattended gift table. Well, we can say gifts because when a prime minister can't provide an original present for France's 200th birthday party, it scarcely qualifies him for connoisseur-type coverage. What we did was take down an original package, commissioned specially for Jeanette Jorgensen in Toronto, and give it to the French big bag in some obscure spot in their new Opera House. Guess we're raising out of mind some more.

Charles de Gaulle's "Vive le Québec libre" might not have been the most appropriate gift for Canada's 200th birthday, but it was original.

When Mulroney stopped in London to have a chat, or whatever, with Margaret Thatcher, what happened there was casual shopping at its most outrageous. Imagine the cheek of a senior British official telling Canadian reporters that "your prime minister is a public relations man. He wants to have his picture taken with the prime minister (Margaret Thatcher) outside No. 10 (Downing St.) Scotland also matters."

Wow! Coming from the British, that isn't a precedent of preposterous proportions. Never even tested on an Argentine naval attack.

For Mulroney, getting there is no longer the fun. It's the only fun. Little wonder that heaving down at his Barrington Lake cottage looks so inviting.

John Ashworth is in Ottawa.

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